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Scope

"Global Perspectives on Japan" focuses on developing a global perspective on the study of Japan and Asia. The journal promotes innovative, inter-disciplinary, inter-regional and transnational approaches to Japanese Studies.

The journal aims to be a venue for scholarship in E.M.E.A. region with a special focus on Turkey and neighboring regions. It especially encourages scholars from the Middle East, Balkans, Central Asia and the Mediterranean but also welcomes scholars from other parts of the world.

GPJ invites papers in the fields of history, humanities, and social sciences including topics of the past and the present. In additon to articles, the journal publishes occasional article size translations, book reviews, and surveys of current trends in Japanese and Asian Studies.

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GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON JAPAN
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Table of Contents

Editor's Note
Erdal K. Yalcin 11

Abstracts 15

Articles

Amida Worship and Religious Practices: Women's Role in Nara Period Buddhist Art
Selin Özdemir 21

The Lay Religiosity in Medieval Sōtō Zen Buddhism
Merve Susuz Aygül..... 34

Bushidō as a Motive for Yukio Mishima's Seppuku: A Psychoanalytic Discourse Analysis
Kübra Dağ 61

Joint Declaration by USSR–Japan 1956: Kuril Islands Dispute Revised
Kamil Gadirli 95

Resistance Against the State: A Study on the Defense of Academic Freedom in Pre-War Japan through the Takigawa Incident
Mehmet Gönültaş..... 140

Selected Recent Publications in Japan on Religion 154

Editor's Note

Erdal K. Yalcin

Dear Readers,

The year 2024 was the 100th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Turkiye and Japan. That's why we, as the society of Japanologists in Turkiye, were busy preparing an exhibition to document the main stages, events and figures of bilateral relations of the two countries. The exhibition titled "Ayyıldız ve Güneş / Moon-star and the Sun / 日月星" was opened first in Istanbul on Nov. 4, 2024 (until Nov. 24). It then traveled to Izmir (Nov 30 - Dec 15, 2024) and finally to Ankara (Dec. 21, 2024 - Jan. 5, 2025). Aside from 61.000 people who visited the exhibition, the most important tangible result of this project was the exhibition catalogue, a compact publication, featuring noteworthy events and people who served the relations during these hundred years. As the curator of the exhibition I intentionally prepared the catalogue as concise as possible (a mere 32 pages) in the form of a traditional newspaper where each chronological entry was treated as a news with a text and a visual whenever possible.

We also published an additional book titled "A Chronology of Turkish-Japanese Relations" prepared by Prof. Selcuk Esenbel.

You can visit the website of the exhibition for more details at:

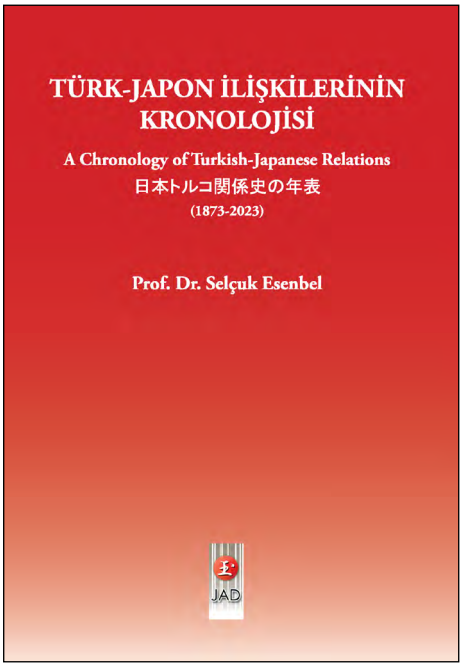
www.ayyildizvegunes.net.tr

Sate,

The main topic of this 8th issue of GPJ was "Rites and Ritual in Japan", but as before, it was optional and works on other subjects were also welcome. Hence, in this issue we present you five articles on various topics with unique perspectives: "Amida Worship and Religious Practices: Women's

Ayyıldız & Güneş 日月星
Osmanlı Dönemi 1873-1923
İkili ilişkilerde ilk adımlar atılıyor
Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ilk japon ziyaretçileri
Japon Prensi Komatsunomiya Akihito ve eşi İstanbul'u ziyaret ettiler
Japon elçi Yoshida Padişahın huzurunda
İmparator Mutsuhito'ya İmtiyaz Nişanı verildi
Japon korveti Seiki İstanbul'da
Sultan Abdülhamid'e Büyük Krizantem Nişanı

From the exhibition booklet titled "Ayyıldız ve Güneş / Moon-star and the Sun / 日月星" opened in the context of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Turkey and Japan.



Cover of the book titled *Chronology of Turkish-Japanese Relations* prepared by Prof. Selçuk Esenbel.

Role in Nara Period Buddhist Art" by Selin Özdemir; "The Lay Religiosity in Medieval Sōtō Zen Buddhism" by Merve Susuz Aygül; "Bushidō as a Motive for Yukio Mishima's Seppuku: A Psychoanalytic Discourse Analysis" by Kübra Dağ; "Joint Declaration by USSR-Japan 1956: Kuril Islands Dispute Revisited" by Kamil Gadirli, and "Resistance Against the State: A Study on the Defense of Academic Freedom in Pre-War Japan through the Takigawa Incident" by Mehmet Aşil Gönültaş. The issue ends with a list of "Selected Recent Publications in Japan on Religion".

I am sincerely hoping these new perspectives by young scholars will contribute to your own research. We are looking for your comments and contribution to GPJ in the comming issues.

For more information about submission and to access back issues, please refer to:

https://forumtauripress.com/global-perspectives-on-japan-gpj/

Heartful greetings from a cloudy Istanbul. The trees have already started blossoming…

Erdal K. Yalcin (Ph.D.)
Editor-in-chief

Abstracts

Amida Worship and Religious Practices: Women's Role in Nara Period Buddhist Art

Selin Özdemir

Art is a powerful medium for communicating with the divine, expressing the inexpressible, and enhancing religious rituals. Buddhism was introduced to Japan in the 6th century, profoundly enriching this connection and fostering a vibrant, transformative relationship between art and spirituality.

The influence of women in Japanese art can be traced back to the introduction of Buddhism in Japan. In the context of Japanese Buddhist art, women were primarily recognized for their patronage and contributions through donations, rather than for creating art themselves. They played a pivotal role in preserving the religious and cultural heritage of the period, contributing to the construction and maintenance of temples and pagodas, as well as fostering the development and dissemination of Buddhist art within these sacred spaces. During the Nara period, the Amida worship placed great emphasis on prayers and religious rituals to ensure the deceased could attain rebirth in the Pure Land. This belief inspired individuals to engage in acts of devotion, such as commissioning Buddhist statues and copying sutras. Women also played a significant role in these religious practices, actively contributing to the pursuit of salvation. During the Nara period, women were deeply involved in various aspects of Japanese Buddhism, particularly in the arts. Centering on Amida worship in Japan, this article explores how women contributed to Buddhist religious practices through art, utilizing historical records from Horyuji Temple as a primary source to examine their roles in commissioning and disseminating sacred artistic traditions.

Keywords: Japanese art, Buddhist art, women, Nara period, Amida worship.

❖

The Lay Religiosity in Medieval Sōtō Zen Buddhism

Merve Susuz Aygül

In the medieval Sōtō school, with Keizan Jōkin (1268-1325), a policy of popularization was adopted. With this policy, by moving away from the meditation-based monastic life of the school's founder, Dōgen, the religious lives of both monks and lay people

underwent an important transformation. The laity, whose basic religious activities were considered to consist of the material support of the monastery and monks in tradition, additionally had the opportunity to engage in new activities for their own salvation. This study deals with lay religiosity in the Medieval Sōtō Zen school, and claims that in the context of Keizan's policy of popularization, the difference between being monastic and being lay faded away in terms of rituals practiced and their desired salvation. The main sources of the study are the works of Dōgen and Keizan, particularly those related to the monastic rule literature. The subject is discussed by comparatively examining the Eihei Shingi written by Dōgen and the Keizan Shingi written by Keizan. At the end of the study, it is understood that in the medieval Sōtō school with Keizan, the distinction between the monastic community and the lay community in terms of the rituals they performed and attainment of salvation largely disappeared, and the two communities differed predominantly in form. In this context, it is seen that the lay people who continued to live a family life had the opportunity to reach the very same status with monastics.

Keywords: History of Religions, Japanese Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, Sōtō School, Keizan, Sōtō Lay Religiosity.

❖

Bushidō as a Motive for Yukio Mishima's Seppuku:
A Psychoanalytic Discourse Analysis

Kübra Dağ

In this article, Yukio Mishima's seppuku speech, which is a fruitful culmination of cultural projections, will be analyzed by referencing diverse disciplines (including post-modern critical linguistics, individual psychology, psychoanalysis, and cultural philosophy). The conclusions of the paper are Mishima's afflatus scheme is prominent in his discursive formation (like poetic nuances and sentimental offerings) are shaped by his childhood external influences such as kabuki theater, samurai legacies, and beautiful, feminine likenings.

Keywords: Yukio Mishima, seppuku speech, post-war Japan.

❖

Joint Declaration by USSR–Japan 1956: Kuril Islands Dispute Revisited

Kamil Gadirli

The Northern Territorial Dispute, also known as the Kuril Islands Dispute, is an ongoing border dispute between Japan and Russia that originated in the aftermath of World War II. The two states have advanced disparate legal positions regarding the status and ownership of the islands. The islands in question are four islands in the Kuril Archipelago, situated to the north of Hokkaido. The islands in question are Iturup, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and Habomai Islands. Japan asserts that these four islands rightfully belong to them and that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) illegally occupied them in the aftermath of World War II. Japan is pursuing its legal rights in accordance with the Atlantic Charter's principle of non-extension of frontiers. Conversely, Russia acknowledges only an unresolved border demarcation issue and claims that the matter be settled through a peace treaty to be concluded between the two states. This study aims to examine the approaches taken by both Japan and Russia in the dispute over the Kuril Islands and their respective proposals for solution from the perspective of International Relations.

Keywords: Treaty of Shimoda, Treaty of St. Petersburg, territorial dispute between Japan-Russia, Kuril Islands, USSR and Japan Joint Declaration of 1956.

❖

Resistance Against the State: A Study on the Defense of Academic Freedom in Pre-War Japan through the Takigawa Incident

Mehmet Gönültaş

In 1930s Japan, resistance emerged within academia as the state tightened its grip on intellectual thought. At the heart of this struggle was the Takigawa Incident—a pivotal moment in the fight for academic freedom. This article explores the resistance to state oppression and the protection of intellectual autonomy in 1930s Japan, with a central focus on the Takigawa Incident. It examines the broader intellectual and political climate of the time, highlighting the role of organizations such as the "「芸自由同盟" (Association for Academic Freedom) and publications promoting intellectual freedom in advocating for the preservation of scholarly independence. The article begins by briefly outlining the establishment of modern universities in Japan, followed by a discussion of the evolving concept of academic freedom in the early 20th century through an analysis of key works such as Fukuzawa Yukichi's 「問

の┌立 (The Independence of Learning) and events like the 七 博士意見書 (Affair of the Seven Ph.D.s). Framed within the broader socio-political backdrop of 1930s Japan, this article sheds light on the intersection of academic freedom and state control while offering valuable insights into the challenges faced under authoritarian regimes and the enduring importance of protecting intellectual independence.

Keywords: Academic Freedom, Takigawa Incident, University Autonomy, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kyodai Jiken.

Articles

Amida Worship and Religious Practices: Women's Role in Nara Period Buddhist Art

Selin Özdemir

(Tohoku Univ. & Ibn Khaldun Univ.)

Introduction

Throughout human history, the relationship between religion and art has been significant. In various cultures, eras, and belief systems, this relationship has manifested in many ways. The interaction between religion and the arts has profoundly influenced culture, society, and people's worldviews. Through this connection, individuals can use art to engage with universal human experiences, express their spiritual dimensions, and explore the search for meaning. Art plays a crucial role in religious ceremonies and serves as a means of communicating with the divine and expressing the inexpressible. Through art, people can engage with their faith in meaningful ways. Religious art often acts as a visual language that conveys important religious ideas and teachings. Throughout history, art has functioned as a form of expression that reflects various cultures, belief systems, and aesthetic concepts.

Religious art is created specifically for religious purposes and encompasses various disciplines, including architecture, painting, sculpture, crafts, and calligraphy. As religions spread worldwide, religious art has played a significant role in the history of art. In Buddhism, for example, footprints and statues of the Buddha have been developed to represent the Buddha or early images of the deified Buddha. In early Christianity, Christ was often depicted symbolically, as portraying a surreal and infinitely powerful being in human form would be considered blasphemous. In contrast, Islam and Judaism

prohibit the depiction of God or His existence. Instead, these religions represent God's presence in abstract terms. Therefore, unlike contemporary visual art, religious art does not aim for realistic, sensual, or subjective representation but instead follows an inherent pattern centered on scripture.

This study explores the worship of Amida Buddha within Japanese Buddhism, focusing on its religious significance, associated rituals, and artistic representations. It examines how devotion to Amida has shaped religious practices, including chanting, visualization techniques, temple worship, and charitable acts such as *fuse* (almsgiving). Additionally, it analyzes the visual expressions of this belief in Buddhist art, including sutras, statues, and paintings. By investigating both doctrinal and artistic aspects, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of Amida worship and its broader cultural impact in Japan.

Background on Amida Worship in the Nara Period (710–794)

The Japanese historical records Shomiki (舒明紀) state that on May 5, 640 (舒明天皇12年, 12th year of Jomei), the Buddhist monk Eon (恵隠, *E'on*) from China preached a sermon on Infinite Life Sutra (無量寿経, *Muryōjukyō*). Likewise, Kōtokuki (孝徳紀) records that on April 15, 652 (白雉3年, the 3rd year of Hakuchi), E'on again delivered a sermon on "Muryōjukyō" at the palace. There were exactly 12 years between these two events, and historians differ on whether these records are repetitive events or two independent sermons. However, it is thought that such religious preaching may have increased in 608 due to the influence of scholars returning to Japan after studying in China.[1] These occurrences are considered to be the first palace Buddhist lectures (宮講, *Kyūkō*) in Japan. And some sources indicate that the belief in Amida had also entered Japan around this time.

E'on lived at a time when Huiyuan (476-542) had died and Daoxuan (562-645) was active in China. Moreover, when E'on returned to Japan, Shandao (善導, 613-681), one of the most important figures of Buddhism of the Pure Land in China, had visited Daoxuan and had begun to follow his teachings.

1 藤島達朗、奈良時代に於ける弥陀信仰（京都、大谷大学研究年報,16）1964, p. 3.

Furthermore, the concept of Pure Land began to appear in Japan as well. *Jōdo* (浄土) refers to the sacred and Pure Land where Buddhas reside. In the most famous instance, believers can be reincarnated by praying the "Namu Amida Butsu" (南無旪弥陀仏) in Amida Buddha's (阿弥陀仏, *Amida Butsu*) Western Paradise (極楽浄土, *Gokuraku Jōdo*). However, the Pure Lands (浄土, *Jōdo*) that each Buddha has achieved are unique. Buddhism views Jōdo as an "other world" (他界, *Takai*) that one can attain after death, but it also depends on one's spiritual path (修行, *Shugyō*) and decision (選択, *Sentaku*). Our beliefs (信仰, *Shinkō*) determine which Pure Land (浄土, Jōdo) we wish to be born into, and this is a key idea in Buddhist philosophy (仏教思想, *Bukkyō Shisō*).[2]

These early records indicate that the foundations of Amida worship in Japan were laid through court sermons and the transmission of Pure Land teachings from China. Over time, these beliefs evolved and became more deeply integrated into Japanese Buddhist practices, especially during the Nara period (710-794), when Buddhist rituals and doctrines played a central role in religious and political life. It is also possible to observe how this belief was shaped through artistic transmission through Buddhist sculptures used in rituals and specific practices.

Religious Aspects Communicated through Art

Humanity has always pursued beauty, and even the ideal, since the beginning of time. For this reason, formal beauty appeals to people through art. Similar to how language is expressed through ink, paper, and printing presses, art uses its materials to convey a variety of messages. What is seen in art is a manifestation of the invisible. Every significant artistic endeavor aims to convey a message to the audience. The universal conveys a different message about art or about people in general. There are various ways that art in civilization reflects religion, culture, history, and way of life.

Art is fundamentally a necessity for humanity and, by extension, for society as a whole. While artistic expressions and styles may evolve over time, certain works of art leave a lasting impact on every society. Regardless of the

2 英策青田、私の浄土観（佛教経済研究 vol. 43）2014, pp. 291-308.

background of the artist, they aim to express in their work the objects and events that have influenced them, whether those influences are abstract or tangible.

Religion and art are two distinct aspects of human existence, yet they share a profound connection. This relationship originated in prehistory when humans sought to believe in something greater than themselves. By attributing meaning to the unknown and creating a sense of the sacred, people aimed to visualize their beliefs, seek blessings, and create a reciprocal bond with the divine.

As a result, the interplay between religion and art, which arose from the quest to express the divine, eventually contributed to a tangible understanding of the sacred. This relationship has evolved across various cultures and historical periods, functioning in both directions: religion has utilized art to highlight religious elements, while art has drawn inspiration from religious themes to foster creativity. In addition to their artistic value, religious artworks—such as temples, sculptures, and paintings dedicated to the divine—have come to embody a sense of sacredness. These works serve as powerful evidence of the intertwined development of religion and art.[3]

Buddhist sculptures are one of the most important elements of art because of the symbolism they carry. Mandalas offer meaningful depictions of the Buddha's past lives, journeys, death and rebirth. Buddhist paintings also play an important role in the visual expression of faith, as they are among the key elements that contribute to a deeper understanding of Buddhist thought.

With the introduction of Buddhism to Japan, mandalas and statues became prominent as sacred artworks. Religious art developed greatly, especially during the Asuka and Nara periods and a significant number of works were produced during this period. Especially mandalas such as 阿弥陀仏 (Amida Butsu) sculptures and 浄土曼荼羅 (Jōdo Mandara) were among the main elements that defined the religious art of the period and were designed to visually convey Buddhist teachings.

In this context, the following examples can be evaluated to examine the reflections of Buddhist beliefs in the art of the period:

The Tuzure-ori Taimadera Mandara is traditionally believed to have been created by Chūjō-hime (中将姫), who is said to have woven it in a single night

3 Leuba, James H. *Art and Religion*, (*The International Journal of Ethics* 27.4) 1917, pp. 512-519.

Figure 1: Tuzure-ori Taimadera Mandara, (綴織當麻曼荼羅), Taima-dera Temple, 8th century.

using lotus threads and attained rebirth in the Pure Land while still alive (女人往生, Nyōnin Ōjō).

Located in the Dream Hall of Hōryū-ji, the Kuse Kannon statue is a famous wooden Buddhist sculpture that is thought to be a full-scale representation of Shōtoku Taishi. For many years, it was preserved as a secret sacred image and is among the oldest wooden sculptures still standing in Japan.

The Threefold Amida Buddha (Amida Sanzo), thought to be the personal Buddha of Empress Kōmyō's mother, Tachibana Fujin, is depicted here. Amida's faith is centered on the Pure Land idea, which is reflected in the

Figure 2: Kuse Kannon (救世観音像), Hōryū-ji Tapınağı, 7th Century (Asuka Period).

Figure 3: Tachibana Fujin Nenjibutsu Sanzon-zō (橘夫人念持仏三尊像), Hōryū-ji Temple, 7th Century.

elaborate bas-relief depicting celestial creatures praying.

Women's Role in Nara Period and Buddhist Art

The substantial impact of Buddhism's growth throughout Japan and its effects on societal structure is reflected in the Nara period (710-794). The term "悟りの成就のための敬虔な祈り" (devout prayer for the achievement of enlightenment) indicates that individuals prayed fervently to achieve enlightenment at this time, and these prayers were offered to Buddhist statues as a kind of worship. There was a significant commitment to Buddhist ceremonies and beliefs, particularly among the nobles and the court. Buddhist statues were used for spiritual activities in addition to being decorative pieces. The expression "仏像に捧げられ続けた" (dedicated to Buddhist statues) shows that these statues became central to prayers and worship. For example, practices such as commissioning statues or building temples for one's loved ones highlight the widespread use of statues in Buddhist rituals during the period, where prayers were made for the souls of the deceased and in the pursuit of enlightenment. This illustrates that the Nara period was profoundly shaped by Buddhist beliefs and that statues were not only an artistic form of expression but also served a religious purpose.[4]

During the Nara Period (710-794), a variety of factors shaped the role and status of women in society in Japan, including Confucianism, Buddhism, and beliefs unique to Japan. During the Nara period (710-794), Buddhism had a profound influence on the way women lived. Many women from aristocratic families who believed in Buddhism entered the religion to study it and practice spiritual cultivation. Several women made headway in Buddhist organizations. In Japan in particular, Empress Kōmyō made great efforts to build Buddhist temples and propagate Buddhism and supported the establishment of relief centers to alleviate the suffering of the sick and needy, as well as charity efforts. Beyond her lifetime, Empress Kōmyō left a lasting legacy as a patron of Buddhism and an advocate of humanitarianism and especially demonstrated a deep devotion to the worship in Amida.[5] Especially

4 長岡龍作, 日本の仏像—飛鳥・白鳳・天平の祈りと美, (中央公論新社) 2009, p. 227.
5 長岡龍作, 日本の仏像—飛鳥・白鳳・天平の祈りと美, (中央公論新社) 2009, p. 152.

during the Nara period, it was common for women to make bets or favors for the afterlife of their deceased relatives. The Buddha created strong links between women, Buddhism, and art.

Female Donations and the Cultural and Religious Significance of Hōryū-ji: Connecting Amida Worship

In many cultures and religious belief systems, the concepts of repentance and sin are critical. They are often associated with people's moral obligations, moral wrongdoing, or guilt towards God. Buddhism has its unique perspective on the methods of removing sins or obtaining salvation. The concept of sin in Buddhism is not linked to offenses against God, as in other religions, but to the individual's interaction with his or her self-imposed karma (deeds). From the phrase "repentance and the erasure of sin", we can concretely explain the method of eradicating sins in Buddhism.[6] The phrase "repentance and the erasure of sin" is a term used especially in Japanese Buddhism, especially in the Jōdo schools, such as Jōdo-shū and Jōdo Shinshū, and it means to purify sins by repentance with subtle feelings. Repentance and the erasure of sin are often linked to belief in Amida Buddha. By eliminating sins through repentance, purifying, and doing good deeds, believers are expected to be reborn into Amida Buddha's heaven, eliminating their sins and being reborn purified. Religions that accept contributing to one's salvation place more emphasis on various selective charitable works.[7] Religions that preach salvation emphasize it through universal charity, which is only possible through God's choice. The activities and donations of the women here in the Nara period show how deeply committed they were to this belief.

Buddhism emphasizes the spirit of compassion and kindness and in this context, charity is encouraged. Charity is recognized as a way to share suffering and hardship and improve the world through free help and empathy for others. Buddhism teaches us to have a compassionate heart towards all living beings. The practice of compassion involves understanding the suffering and difficulties of others and contributing to alleviate or reduce them, which is

6 坪井俊英, 法然浄土宗における阿弥陀名号の発願と罪の告白,(インド・仏教研究第19巻第2号)1971, p. 35.
7 McCleary, Rachel M. Salvation, damnation, and economic incentives (Journal of Contemporary Religion 22.1) 2007, p. 52.

the basis for charity. In this way, the path to liberation is opened.[8]

Here, we can also discuss donation (布施, *fuse*), which is one of the charitable relief practices in Buddhism. The tradition of fuse started with Prince Shotoku and continued through notable figures such as Gyoki, Saicho, and Kukai. In Buddhist teachings, fuse encompasses charitable acts or donations that include not only physical gifts but also the sharing of knowledge and love. It represents acts of individuals who give of themselves for the sake of altruism.[9] The most common form of fuse is physical donations, which can include offerings of food, clothing, property, money, or any other items that those in need may seek. It is essential that these gifts are not just material offerings but are also given with sincerity, thoughtfulness, and genuine goodwill.[10] Historically, royalty would engage in the practice of almsgiving, donating various objects to temples. These offerings included not only material goods such as food, money, and land but also sacred items like sutras, statues, and Buddhist paintings. Such donations played a vital role in supporting the religious practices of the time. These contributions, made with deep faith and reverence, were regarded as acts of generosity that enhanced the spiritual well-being of both the giver and the community.

Specifically, we can consider the case of the Amida Nyorai Icon (阿弥陀如来, *Amida Nyorai Zōu*), a donation made by the Queen of Kōmyō (光明皇后, *Kōmyō Kōgō*) for her mother, and the significance of the Hōryū-ji (法隆寺) temple, where this donation was made. Hōryū-ji temple has been described as the "Summit of the Art of Buddhism" in Japan and is a temple that houses some of the most important cultural assets in Japan.[11] In addition, religious and artistic donations made between the Asuka period (飛鳥時代) and the Kamakura period (鎌倉時代) are also important throughout Japan's history. In this context, many female donors to the temple are mentioned. In particular, according to the document The Historical Record of the Hōryū-ji Temple Complex and Its Sacred Donations (法隆寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳, *Hōryū-ji Garan Engi to Ryūki Shizai-chō*) (Figure 4), submitted by three essential

8 守屋茂, 日本の慈善救濟における佛教受容の一特質について,(印度學佛教學研究/16 巻1 号)1967, p. 89.
9 宮城洋一郎, 仏教救済事業史の課題について (https://archives.bukkyo-u.ac.jp/rpcontents/BF/0017/BF00170R079.pdf), 2021.
10 坪井俊英, *a.g.e.*, p. 12.
11 長岡龍作, 日本の仏像—飛鳥・白鳳・天平の祈りと美 (中央公論新社) 2009, p. 72.

Figure 4: Hōryū-ji Garan Engi to Ryūki Shizai-chō 法隆寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳, Hōryū-ji Temple, 8th Century.

principles (法隆寺三綱, Hōryū-ji Sangō) in 747, Hōryū-ji temple was a place where many women donors contributed. These donors include Empress Jitō (持統天皇, Jitō Tennō), Empress Genjō (元正天皇, Genjō Tennō), Empress Kōmyō (光明皇后, Kōmyō Kōgō), Queen Muro (無漏王, Muro Ō), half-sister of Empress Kōmyō. Researcher say that this temple became a place where women in particular prayed and made donations. In addition, Empress Kōmyō is also said to have played an important role in the reconstruction of Hōryū-ji temple.[12]

As seen here, Hōryū-ji Temple became a place where women could combine their religious beliefs with art. Furthermore, several examples of female donors' contributions to the temple can be highlighted. The examples I'll share are just a few of the many contributions made by female donors,

12 金子啓明, 生命思想としての白鳳彫刻—法隆寺橘夫人念持仏阿弥陀三尊像について (museum, vol. 55) 2000, p. 98.

reflecting their active participation in the temple's religious life and rituals.

Saiendō (西円堂): The construction of the Saiendō (西円堂) was initiated by Tachibana no Fūjin, the mother of Empress Kōmyō, at the request of Empreror Shōmu. This temple was built through the dedicated efforts of Tachibana no Fūjin.

"此御堂、聖武天皇之后光明皇后母公、橘夫人之御願也／此堂者橘大夫人之所造也"

Hakudō Kyō (白銅鏡): These silver mirrors were donated by Kōmyō.

"白銅鏡二面(丈六分)天平八年二月二十二日"

Amida Butsu Hōchō (阿弥陀仏宝頂): This treasure crown, donated in 747 for Amida Buddha, signifies that Amida resides at the top of the head and protects sentient beings. It symbolizes Amida's promise of peace in the present life and the guidance toward rebirth in the Pure Land after death. The crown reflects a belief in Amida's protective and salvific powers for all beings.

"阿弥陀仏宝頂一具　天平五年" 白銅鏡二面(丈六分)天平八年二月二十二日"

Kō (香, Incense): Sixteen different types of incense, particularly stored in silver containers and special boxes, were donated to the temple.

"香四種(丈六分)天平八年二月二十二日"

These donations highlight the significant contributions of women to the religious life of Hōryū-ji Temple and their involvement in religious ceremonies. Collectively, these objects provide insight into the cultural and religious significance of the period. When examined individually, the items used in Amida rituals reveal profound meanings. And all of the examples provided here are included in the document Historical Record of the Hōryū-ji Temple Complex and Its Sacred Donations (法隆寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳, Hōryū-ji Garan Engi to Ryūki Shizai-chō).[13]

13 Hōryū-ji Garan Engi Narabini Ryūki Shizai-chō (法隆寺伽藍縁起幷流記資財帳) is a document that provides a detailed account of the origins (*engi*) of Hōryū-ji Temple, its property (*shizai*), and its historical background. It was created in the 19th year of the Tenpyō era (747) under the direction of the central government.

Conclusion

During the Nara period in Japan, culture and art flourished, and art gained significant momentum. Women in this era played an important role as patrons of art and aesthetics, contributing to the construction of many Buddhist temples and helping the development of Buddhist sculptures and art. Female emperors and aristocrats acted as protectors of temples, donating beautiful Buddhist sculptures and paintings, thus contributing to the artistic culture of the temples. Some of the women who greatly influenced the development of Buddhism in Japan, as mentioned in the examples in the study, include Jitō Tennō, Tachibana no Michiyo, Kōmyō Kōgō, Shōtoku Tennō, and Danrin Kōgō. These women actively participated in activities such as temple construction, sculpture creation, and sacred manuscript writing, greatly contributing to the spread and deepening of Buddhism.

Additionally, elements such as patronage and making donations in accordance with the Amida belief, as well as performing acts of kindness for the afterlife of the deceased, are aspects present in our own culture as well. This similarity is noteworthy in terms of interreligious interaction and the parallelism in people's belief motivations, and it should be studied in more detail.

During the Nara period, women were vital to religious activities, especially in Amida worship, in addition to their artistic contributions. Women contributed to the continuation and dissemination of Buddhist teachings by performing acts of devotion like offering sacrifices, helping to build temples, and funding religious ceremonies. In addition to being acts of personal piety, these customs supported society's collective and spiritual life and preserved the link between the here and the hereafter. Through Amida's vow, a fundamental principle of Pure Land Buddhism, women's participation in religious rites strengthened worship in salvation, and their support of temples such as Hōryū-ji was a tangible expression of their religious devotion and dedication to obtaining merit for themselves and their loved ones.

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The Lay Religiosity in Medieval Sōtō Zen Buddhism

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Introduction[1]

Buddhism was born as a monastic religion. Buddha Shakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, set an example with his own life by abandoning family life and adopting an ascetic lifestyle. Then he laid the foundations of the Buddhist monastic institution by creating a structure where those who left family life could live together within certain rules. Although the Buddhist monastic institution established by Buddha has undergone numerous transformations and developments, it has continued to exist until today. And with the exception of some lay-based formations that emerged in the modern period, Buddhism has existed as a monastic religion shaped around the monastic institution that Buddha laid the foundations for. But Buddha did not construct the monastic institution as an autonomous structure. While the monastic institution should be free from worldly concerns and authorities as its *raison d'être*, it is dependent on the society both economically and socially. The Buddhist monastery is not an institution that can exist on its own, isolated from society, but rather an institution that continues its existence within society on the axis of its relations with it. For this reason, throughout its history, Buddhism has never consisted solely of the monastic institution. The non-monastic elements, on which the existence of the non-autonomous monastic institution is based, have had a dominant position throughout

1 This article is based on the doctoral thesis titled "Orta Çağ Sōtō Zen Budizminde Manastır Hayatı ve Dindarlık", completed at Marmara University in 2021.

history as one of the building blocks of the Buddhist tradition.

The fact that Buddhism, while being a monastic religion, has not constructed an autonomous monastic structure and has attributed a dominant position to non-monastic elements in the existence of the tradition has resulted in the development of the Buddhist community, the Sangha (Jpn. *Sōgya* 僧伽), as a layered structure. This layered structure is basically shaped around the community of those living a monastic life and the community of those who do not live a monastic life but accept Buddhist teachings and perform various rituals. Both communities are divided into subgroups; the community of monastics consists of the community of monks (Jpn. *biku*, 比丘; Pali. bhikkhu or *samana*), and the community of nuns (Jpn. *bikuni*, 比丘尼; Pali. *bhikkhunī*), while the community of those who accept Buddhist teaching and perform certain rituals despite not living a monastic life consists of laymen (Jpn. *ubasoku*, 優婆塞; Pali. *upasaka*) and laywomen (Jpn. *ubai*, 優婆夷; Pali. *upasika*).

It is interesting to note that the Buddhist community basically consists of two main categories, the monastic community and the lay community, and that these two main categories exist both as one and separately within a hierarchical structure. As believers and practitioners of the same religion, these two communities are completely different from each other in terms of the way of life they adopt. While monks have a lifestyle in which they give up family life, are free from worldly preoccupations and live communally within the framework of certain rules, the lay practitioners have a lifestyle in which they maintain contact with the Buddhist tradition on the axis of certain beliefs and practices while they pursue worldly preoccupations within family life. However, both communities do not have an autonomous existence independent of the other; they coexist in a mutually dependent structure, and together they form a whole. Within this community structure in which the monastic community and the lay community exist both as one and separately, the lay religiosity is the subject of this article. The subject will be analyzed within the framework of the rituals performed by the laity and the context will be the medieval Sōtō Zen school. Therefore, the topic is lay religiosity in the medieval Sōtō Zen school. More precisely, it is the understanding of the religious life of the lay community, one of the two main groups that make up the Sōtō community, on the basis of the rituals they perform.

In the case of the Sōtō Zen school, it should be noted that in shaping the religious life of the lay community, the characteristics of the Mahayana tradition to which the Sōtō school belongs, and the unique features of Chinese and Japanese societies where it emerged and developed, were influential. However, the main factor was Keizan's popularization policy of school's beliefs and practices. In the medieval Sōtō school, with Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1268-1325), the policy of popularization was adopted, and within this framework, the religious life of monks and laity underwent a radical transformation by moving away from the meditation-based monastic life of the school's founder Dōgen. With this transformation, the laity began to participate in the rituals specific to monks and thus became subject to the promise of salvation. Therefore, the monastic community and the lay community have become closer to each other in terms of the rituals they performed and the attainment of salvation. In this context, the main thesis of the article is that with Keizan, in the Medieval Sōtō school, the lay community, in terms of the rituals they perform and attaining salvation, have become closer to the monastic community in content if not in form. In other words, they have begun to resemble each other largely in terms of the rituals they perform and by becoming subject to the promise of salvation.

The main sources for the study are the literature of monastic codes. The first example of this literature is the Vinaya Pitaka. The Zen school, which is supposed to have emerged in China in the sixth century, initially practiced the Vinaya rules, but over time it developed its own literature of monastic codes. The literature of Zen monastic codes known as the *Pure Rules* (Ch. ch'ing-kuei, 清規 J. shingi, 清規) is a genre unique to the Chinese Ch'an and Japanese Zen tradition. The most important example of this literature is the *Ch'an yuan Ch'ing kuei* (J. Zenen Shingi, 禅苑清規), compiled by Tsung-tsê in 1103, as it is the oldest surviving full-scale Ch'an monastic rule.[2] In the case of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school, the most important of these texts, which are a continuation of the Pure Rules literature, are those written by the founder of the school, Dōgen, and the text of monastic rules written by Keizan, who initiated the policy of popularizing the school. A comparative analysis of the

2 Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

Eihei Shingi 永平清規,[3] a collection of fascicles on monastic life written by Dōgen, and the Keizan Shingi 瑩山清規 瑩山清規[4] written by Keizan (1258-1325), will reveal the developments and transformations in terms of religious life of the laity in the Sōtō school with Keizan.

1. The Laity in Japanese Buddhism

The perspective and practices of Japanese Buddhism regarding lay practitioners appear to have been shaped by the Mahayana doctrine, the legacy of Chinese Buddhist tradition, and the unique conditions of Japanese culture and society. Unlike China, the fact that Buddhism entered Japan through the state and was accepted as the state religion for most of its history caused the aristocratic segment of society to constitute the first lay community of Japanese Buddhism. From the early periods, courtiers who adopted Buddhism asked Buddhist monks to pray for worldly benefits such as rain, protection from diseases, safe birth, and good luck. In return for these services, they donated large tracts of land to Buddhist monasteries and honored the monks in various ways.[5] As lay Buddhists, the ruling class and aristocratic families sponsored numerous projects such as the construction of monasteries, Buddha and bodhisattva statues, support for monasteries, and the performance of large Buddhist rituals.[6]

The adoption of Buddhism as the state religion in Japan also made the emperors one of the most important representatives of the lay community in Japanese Buddhism. Emperors, as lay practitioners, embraced and practiced Buddhism in various ways. Emperor Shomu 聖武天皇 (Shōmu-tennō, 724-749) is one of the best examples of this. Emperor Shomu is portrayed as a devout lay Buddhist and is noted for major projects such as building Buddhist

3 Dōgen, *Dōgen's Pure Standards for the Zen Community A Translation of the Eihei Shingi*, trans. Taigen Daniel Leighton and Shohaku Okumura (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996).

4 Keizan, *Zen Master Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, trans. Ichimura Shohei (U.S.A.: North American Institute of Zen and Buddhist Studies, 1994); T. Griffith Foulk, "'Rules of Purity' in Japanese Zen", *Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 147.

5 Kitagawa, "The Buddhist Transformation in Japan", *History of Religions*, The University of Chicago Press, vol. 4, No. 2 (Winter, 1965): pp. 324-325.

6 Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism* (Uk: Wiley Blackwell, 2005), pp. 55-56.

temples and statues in all provinces of the state.[7] One of the most important of these is the great statue of Buddha (大仏) in Nara, which he ordered to be built by edict in 743, and which still stands today.[8] The emperor believed that building temples and statues and performing the necessary rituals would ward off calamities such as epidemics and famines and bring prosperity and peace to his country.[9] Indeed, it is known that a severe smallpox epidemic hit the country between 735-737. This epidemic caused the death of many people including aristocrats, and the emperor then asked for help from monks to end the epidemic.[10] Similarly, Empress Kōken 孝謙天皇 (Kōken-tennō, 749-758 and 765-770), as a devout Buddhist, helped to strengthen Buddhism in Japan by building new temples and supporting existing ones.[11]

It is clear that aristocrats, who constituted the majority of the lay community, showed interest in Buddhist rituals from the early period. In this context, it is known that aristocratic families often invited monks to stay in their homes and converted some parts of their houses into private temples. The primary function of these private home temples was to perform the necessary rituals related to the welfare and well-being of the family, such as the prevention of diseases. Kofukuji, one of the most important temples in Nara, was built for this purpose by the powerful Fujiwara family.[12] Another practice that those in the upper strata of society engage in were purification rituals. The purification rituals, which came from China as an imperial tradition, were practiced through methods such as fasting, dieting, washing certain parts of the body and bathing. Buddhist vegetarian festivals in Japan, where eating meat was forbidden, the first of which is reported to have taken place in 584, can also be considered in this category.[13] During these festivals, repentance rituals for sins were also sometimes performed.[14]

7 Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People* (New York: The Encyclopedia Britannica, 1915), p. 192.
8 Kōyū, "Early Buda Worship," ed. Delmer M. Brown, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. I (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 400-401.
9 Kōyū, "Early Buda Worship", p. 399.
10 Kōjirō, "The Nara State", ed. Delmer M. Brown, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. I (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 250-251.
11 Kōyū, "Early Buda Worship", pp. 409-410.
12 Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, p. 56.
13 Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), pp. 254-256.
14 *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, vol. II, trans. W.G. Aston (London: The Japan Society, 1896), p. 377.

Although the majority of the early lay community consisted of those from the upper strata of society, Buddhism also found a response among the common people, albeit at a limited level, during its early period in Japan. This is confirmed by the activities of Gyōki 行基 (668-749), one of the most important monks of the Nara period. After Gyōki left his official position as a monk at Yakushiji temple, he began to travel through the countryside preaching the Dharma to the people and engaging in social projects such as building irrigation canals, temples not affiliated with the emperor, safe inns and bridges for travelers.[15] During the Heian period, the spread of Buddhism among the people gained new momentum, which led to the expansion of the lay community in the lower strata of society. From the beginning of this period, the worship of the eleven-headed Kannon 観音 became widespread among lay people.[16] Regarded as the symbol of compassion, Kannon was believed to provide his worshippers with many worldly benefits such as protection from disease, wealth, and food security.[17] The worship of Miroku 弥勒 弥勒, believed to be the Buddha of the future, Jizō 地蔵, who helps children, travelers and those in hell; and Yakushi 薬師仏,[18] the healing Buddha, were also widely practiced among both the aristocratic class and the commoners of this period.[19]

It can be argued that the most important development of the Heian period regarding the position of the laity was the reform caused by Saichō, the founder of the Tendai school. According to East Asian Buddhist tradition, the primary responsibility of monastics was to follow the two hundred and fifty rules of the Dharmagupta Vinaya 四分律 (*shibunritsu*).[20] Saichō, however, characterized these rules as Hinayana tradition, arguing that the Tendai school belonged to Mahayana Buddhism and therefore Tendai monks should only follow the fifty-eight boddhisatva precepts 菩薩戒 (*bosatsukai*) in the Brahma Net Sutra 梵網経 (*Bonmōkyō*), which are considered Mahayana

15 Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, p. 63.
16 Morse, "The Buddhist Transformation of Japan in the Ninth Century, The Case of Eleven-Headed Kannon", *Heian Japan, Center and Peripheries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), pp. 153-154.
17 Morse, "The Buddhist Transformation of Japan in the Ninth Century, The Case of Eleven-Headed Kannon", p. 159.
18 Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buda: The Iconic Worship of Yakushi in Heian Japan* (Boston: Brill, 2012).
19 Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, p. 93.
20 Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, p. 74.

precepts. Saichō spent many years trying to establish his own system of ordination based on the bodhisattva precepts, but his efforts only came to fruition after his death, and the Tendai school introduced the tradition of ordaining monks solely according to the Bodhisattva precepts into Japanese Buddhism.[21]

The Bodhisattva precepts are associated with the doctrine of inherent enlightenment 本覺思想 (*hongaku shisō*) and Buddha nature that exists in the nature of all beings. All beings who inherently possess Buddha nature and the capacity for enlightenment can be subject to these principles. Thus, Mahayana Buddhism's acceptance that every being has Buddha-nature means that the boddhsattva precepts apply to all beings without distinction.[22] Since the bodhisattva precepts are precepts that can be followed by both monastics and laity, Saichō's reform eliminates the distinction between monastics and lay in both doctrine and practice. However, in the Tendai school and other Buddhist schools that adopted Saichō's tradition of ordaining monks solely according to bodhisattva precepts, the Pure Land school being an exception, the monastics continued to exist as a separate group from the laity. However, it should not be forgotten that Saichō's reform led to profound transformations in Japanese Buddhism, both with regard to the position of the laity and monastic life.

One of the other points that should be mentioned about the position of the laity is the fact that the esoteric rituals popularized by Shingon, another important school of the Heian period, attracted the attention of the court and the aristocratic class, and that the courtiers and aristocrats participated in these rituals.[23] In this context, Shingon monks regularly visited the court for various reasons such as rain prayers, exorcism rituals, and ceremonies held for the survival of the state in order to respond to the wishes and needs of the upper-class laypeople.[24] On the other hand, the school's founder, Kūkai's, view of *sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛, 'attaining enlightenment in the present life', also influenced the understanding of the laity. Within the framework of

21 Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism", ed. John Whitney and others, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. II (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 469-470.

22 Waka, "Inherent Enlightenment ("Hongaku shisō") and Saichō's Acceptance of the Bodhisattva Precepts", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14, No. 2:3 (1987), pp. 113-115.

23 Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, p. 77.

24 Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism", p. 497.

this view, Kūkai states that esoteric Buddhism, and thus the Shingon school of this tradition, is superior to other Buddhist schools. While other schools see enlightenment as the result of a long and challenging training process, the esoteric Buddhist tradition sees enlightenment as a state that one can attain immediately. This led both to the popularization of the Shingon school among the people and the adaptation of esoteric rituals by other Buddhist schools to their own rituals under the influence of the Shingon school.[25] Kūkai's acceptance of enlightenment not as the result of years of monastic life and training, but as a state that can be reached instantly through esoteric rituals, renders monastic life somewhat dysfunctional and provides the laity the opportunity to attain enlightenment.

In addition to the esoteric rituals mentioned above, there are other rituals that were influential in the religious life of the Heian period lay community. One of the first practices to be mentioned in this context is the pilgrimage practice, which were especially common among the aristocratic class. Popular pilgrimage destinations were mountains considered sacred, such as Mount Hiei, head monasteries and temples.[26] Some of the temples visited for pilgrimage became quite popular and became the main pilgrimage centers of the period. The temples on Mount Kumano and the Shingon temples on Mount Kōya were some of the most common pilgrimage destinations. Pilgrims practiced abstinence before departure, wore special clothes during the pilgrimage, and once they arrived at the pilgrimage site, they spent several days in seclusion, reciting sutras and hoping to gain worldly benefits such as property, health, and safe delivery through these rituals. Pilgrims also donated food, clothing or meals to the temples they visited on their journey.[27] In the Heian period, the pilgrimage ritual was mainly practiced by those living outside monasteries. Buddhist monks also made pilgrimages, of course,[28] but pilgrimage was generally a ritual favored by emperors and

25 Matsuo, *A History of Japanese Buddhism* (UK: Global Oriental), pp. 36-37.

26 Ian Reader and Paul L. Swanson, "Pilgrimage in the Japanese Religious Tradition", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 24, No. 3:4 (1997), pp. 237-238.

27 Farris, *Japan to 1600: A Social and Economic History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), p. 97.

28 Borgen, "Jōjin's Travels from Center to Center", *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries*, ed. Mikael S. Adolphson (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), pp. 384-385.

the aristocratic class.[29] In the late Heian period, four emperors made nearly a hundred pilgrimages to the Kumano temples.[30] Moreover, thanks to the diaries written by Heian period women, it is known that women belonging to the aristocratic class also went on pilgrimages.[31]

Another common ritual that occupied an important position in the religious life of the Heian period laity was the repentance ritual. Originating from the *desanā* ritual in Indian Buddhism, where male and female monks who violated monastery rules confessed their sins, repentance rituals in China and Japan evolved into rituals that could be performed by anyone to obtain worldly benefits. In Japan, repentance rituals were institutionalized by the imperial court and became one of the most important early Japanese Buddhist practices. These rituals were generally performed for deified figures such as the eleven-headed Kannon, Amida, and the Healing Buddha Yakushi. They were also practiced by both the aristocratic class in the capital and the common people in the provinces. While aristocrats aimed for the survival of the emperor and the country, the common people were more concerned with protection from famine and diseases.[32] Murasaki Shikibu mentions a repentance ritual performed in a temple, that women could also participate in.[33] Sanbō'e 三宝絵, a work on annual Buddhist practices written by Minamoto no Tamenori around the same time, also states that the repentance rituals were performed in the first and second months.[34] The point to be emphasized here is that these rituals have moved away from their origins and become rituals performed by those outside the monastery to obtain their wishes.

29 Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism", p. 505; Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, pp. 97-98.

30 Moerman, "The Ideology of Landscape and the Theater of State, Insei Pilgrimage to Kumano (1090-1220)", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 24, No. 3:4 (1997), p. 347.

31 *Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan: Murasaki Shikibu, Izumi Shikibu and Lady Sarashina*, trans. Annie Shepley Omori and Koichi Doi (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 38, 53, 60, 154 etc.

32 Morse, "The Buddhist Transformation of Japan in the Ninth Century, The Case of Eleven-Headed Kannon", p. 161.

33 *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, trans. Richard Bowring (London: Penguin Books,1996), p. 170.

34 Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, p. 89.

2. The Laity in Zen Tradition

When it comes to the Kamakura period, it is seen that the schools that emerged in this period have developed different understandings and practices regarding the laity. In the debate of the period about whether monastic principles and, consequently, monastic life, were necessary, the view adopted by the schools of the period also shaped their practices regarding the laity. The Pure Land school, with an exclusive perspective, centered on the *nenbutsu* practice and stated that monastic principles and monastic life were not necessary. Nenbutsu was considered to be the most effective and sufficient practice to reach enlightenment, in other words, the Pure Land, which we can think of as a kind of paradise. What is important for the subject is that this practice, and therefore enlightenment, is open to all people, including the laity, without any discrimination.[35] Therefore, in Pure Land tradition, monastic life is not necessary to attain enlightenment. Nichiren, on the other hand, stated that the only way to salvation in the *mappō* age, which is the last Dharma age, was the Lotus Sutra.[36] He adopted a nationalist attitude, and became a party to political conflicts,[37] and therefore did not have an understanding that centered on monastic principles and monastic life. On the other hand, the pioneers of the Zen school advocated a monastic life based on principles.[38] Thus, in the Zen tradition, the traditional Buddhist practice of dividing the community into the monastics and the lay community has continued.

All of the figures considered as pioneers of the Zen school in Japan emphasized monastic life, and albeit to different degrees; all of them considered a monastic life based on the monastic principles necessary. Myōan Eisai (1141-1215), a Zen school pioneer of the period who is also considered the founder of the Rinzai Zen school, states that Zen requires both monastic principles Vinaya, described as Hinayana precepts, and bodhisattva precepts,

35 Kazuo, "Buddhism in the Kamakura Period", *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 3, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 546-548.

36 Ed. The Gosho Translation Committe, *The Writings of Nichiren Daishonin*, vol. I (Tokyo: Soka Gakkai, 1999), pp. 3-4.

37 Küçükyalçın, *Dönüm Noktalarıyla Japon Tarihi, Samuraylar Çağı* (İstanbul: İnkilap Kitabevi, 2013), pp. 151-152.

38 Dobbins, "Precepts in Japanese Pure Land Buddhism: *The Jōdōshū*," *Going Forth Visions of Buddhist Vinaya*, ed. William M. Bodiford (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), pp. 237-240.

known as Mahayana precepts, and that this is the foundation that sustains the Buddha's teaching.[39] Enni Ben'en (1202-1280), another important figure of the Rinzai school, also aimed to establish and spread Zen as a monastic-based school.[40] Similarly, Shinchi Kakushin (1207-1298) studied Zen in China and returned home to live a monastic life based on monastic principles and meditation.[41] The important figures of the Sōtō school, which will be discussed in the next heading, also emphasized the necessity of monastic life.[42] Finally, it should be noted that the Chinese monks who began to come to Japan in the mid-thirteenth century also tried to establish a Zen monastic order based on monastic principles.[43]

As demonstrated, in the early periods when Zen began to gain presence in Japan, the main focus was on the monastery. The primary goal of these pioneering figures was to establish a monastic order based on the monastic principles they brought from China and to build an independent Zen monastery. In this context, it can be said that in its early periods in Japan, Zen's primary target was those living a monastic life. The position of devotees and their place in religious life were not actively present in the agenda of Zen figures, at least in the early period. However, Zen's doctrinal foundations based on the Mahayana teaching can provide some explanation for the position of the laity in the Zen school. At this point, it is necessary to highlight the doctrine of Buddha nature. Zen is based on the acceptance that all beings have Buddha nature, that this nature can be realized through certain practices, and thus the ultimate goal of *satori* (enlightenment) can be achieved.[44] The Zen school assumes that the basic practice leading to *satori*

39 Eisai, "A Treatise Letting Zen Flourish", trans. Gishin Tokiwa, *Zen Texts* (USA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005), pp. 73, 94-98, 109-110.

40 Collcutt, "Zen and the Gozan", ed. Kozo Yamamuro, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. III (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 591-592.

41 Collcutt, *Five Mountains; The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (USA: Harward University Press, 1981), pp. 48-49.

42 Dōgen, "Fukanzazengi," *Dōgen's Extensive Records, A Translation of the Eihei Kōroku*, trans. Taigen Dan Leighton and Shohaku Okumura (Boston: Wisdom Publicatons, 2010), pp. 532-535; Aishin Imaeda, "Dōgen," *Shapers of Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Yusen Kashiwahara and Koyu Sonoda (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 1994), p. 121; See William M. Bodiford, *Soto Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), pp. 84-89; Steven Heine, *From Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen: A Remarkable Century of Transmission and Transformation* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 142.

43 Collcutt, "Zen and the Gozan", p. 593.

44 Jorgensen, *"Chan School", Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, vol. 2 (USA: Macmillan Reference, 2004), p. 130.

is meditation. Throughout Zen history, Zen monks have used their power of meditation and enlightenment to serve the worldly needs of the laity and their patrons. To this end, Zen monks have performed rituals for a variety of purposes, such as protection from calamities and diseases, fertile harvests, the welfare of the emperor and his patrons, rain prayer, and sending merit to ancestors.[45] Therefore, although Zen adopted a community structure based on the distinction between laity and monastics and emphasized monastic life, especially in its early period, it did not completely ignore the laity.

As the Zen school took root and spread in Japanese society, the lay community also developed and laypeople began to be more active presence in religious life. As the Rinzai school became the state-approved school and became more widespread in urban centers and aristocratic circles, the lay community of this school was mostly composed of the upper strata of society. The religious life of the aristocratic lay community was basically centered around supporting monasteries and monks and in return, having rituals organized for their own needs and desires. On the one hand, the court and shogunate provided all kinds of material support to the monasteries, especially land, while on the other hand, these monasteries supported state policies and prayed for wars, the fate of soldiers who died in wars, and the survival of the state.[46] It is also known that the laity performed Zen practices such as *zazen* and *kōan*.[47] Moreover, there were quite a few laypeople who decided to renounce worldly life when they got old or after experiencing a grave event, and live according to the principles that novice monks were obliged to follow.[48] Furthermore, it was considered possible that practicing Zen as a lay person from aristocratic class would lead one to enlightenment.[49]

3. The Laity in Sōtō Zen School

When it comes to the position of the laity in the Sōtō school, it is first necessary to mention the teaching and practices of Dōgen, who is considered the founder

45 Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 1-2.
46 Collcutt, "Zen and the Gozan", pp. 598-604, 648-649.
47 Collcutt, *Five Mountains; The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, pp. 58-59.
48 Kuroda Toshio, "Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System", trans. Suzane Gay, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 23/3-4 (1996), p. 308.
49 Dumoulin, *A History of Zen Buddhism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. 142.

of the school. Having laid the doctrinal and institutional foundations of the Sōtō school in Japan, Dōgen's perspective on the laity underwent a kind of transformation over time. In his early years, Dōgen was quite inclusive in his language, addressing the laity as well as those living a monastic life. In his work *Fukanzazengi,* written during this period, he advises all Zen followers to practice zazen without making any distinction, and explains how to perform it. These explanations indicate that anyone can perform zazen by following the necessary procedure.[50] In *Bendowa*, Dōgen answered positively to the question of whether the laity could perform zazen, stating that the only condition for this practice was the presence of the will, and that it did not matter whether the body was at home or had left home.[51] Indeed, it is known that between 1233 and 1243, Dōgen taught zazen to monks and lay followers as well at Kōshōji monastery.[52] More importantly, since Dōgen equated zazen with enlightenment, the fact that the laity could practice zazen also meant that they could attain enlightenment.[53]

By the time he moved to Echizen, however, Dōgen had abandoned this inclusive language, arguing that renouncing family life and accepting monastic principles was the basis of the Buddha's teaching. Quoting from the Chanyuan and the sutras, he stated that the Buddha and all Buddhist patriarchs were those who renounced family life and lived a monastic life, and that renouncing family life was the basic condition for attaining enlightenment. In this direction, Dōgen accepts the day on which one renounces family life as the day on which one attains enlightenment.[54] He also states that those who do not accept and live by monastic principles can never become disciples of the Buddha and Buddhist patriarchs.[55] He required everyone who wanted to become a disciple of the Buddha, whether they are god, human, king, citizen, lay, monk, slave, or animal, to accept the precepts and put on monastic robes.[56] Indeed, unlike his previous inclusive views,

50 Dōgen, "Fukanzazengi", *Dōgen's Extensive Records, A Translation of the Eihei Kōroku*, pp. 532-535.
51 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō The True Dharma-Eye Treasury*, vol. I, trans. Gudo Wafu Nishijima and Chodo Cross (USA: BDK America, 2007), pp. 16-17.
52 *Dōgen's Extensive Records, A Translation of the Eihei Kōroku*, p. 3.
53 Dōgen, "Fukanzazengi", pp. 532-535.
54 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō, Shōbōgenzō The True Dharma-Eye Treasury*, vol. IV, trans. Gudo Wafu Nishijima and Chodo Cross (USA: BDK America, 2007), pp. 147-151.
55 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, pp. 309-313.
56 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. I, pp. 210-211.

Dōgen emphasized the importance of monastic life, stating that those who cannot renounce family life cannot attain enlightenment.[57] According to Dōgen, no matter how virtuous they were, there was no one in history who has fully understood the truth of the Buddha-Dharma without abandoning family life.[58]

At first glance, Dōgen's acceptance to abandon family life and live a monastic life in accordance with the principles as the basis of the Buddha's teaching gives the impression that those who live a family life are completely excluded. However, an examination of the principles that Dōgen deems necessary to accept and follow after abandoning family life reveals that some of these principles can also be practiced by lay people. In his essay on the necessity of accepting principles, Dōgen states that three types of principles should be accepted. These three types of principles are the monastic principles known as the Vinaya rules, the moral rules, and the ten bodhisattva precepts. At the end of the article, Dōgen mentions that there are Buddhist masters who have not accepted and lived according to the monastic principles known as the Vinaya rules, but there are no Buddhist masters who have not accepted the bodhisattva precepts.[59] In other words, the Vinaya rules are important but not essential, but the bodhisattva precepts are the primary precepts accepted by all Buddhist masters. If the Vinaya rules seem to contradict the Bodhisattva precepts, they are not true rules. Bodhisattva precepts are higher than Vinaya rules, and bodhisattvas who live by them are superior to those who live only according to the Vinaya rules.[60]

What is important here in relation to the laity is that the boddhisattva principles can be accepted and practiced by both monastics and the laity. Dōgen lists the bodhisattva precepts as not killing, not stealing, not committing adultery, not lying, not selling alcohol, not discussing the faults of bodhisattvas, not praising oneself and denigrating others, not being jealous, not being angry, and not insulting the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.[61] He notes that some of the Japanese Emperors have accepted and practiced

57 Imaeda, "Dōgen", p. 121.
58 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, pp. 13-15.
59 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, pp. 309-313.
60 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, p. 20.
61 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, pp. 312-313.

these precepts and he advises emperors and commoners alike to accept and practice the bodhisattva precepts.[62] He mentions laymen and laywomen who have accepted and practiced the precepts.[63] Moreover, Dōgen himself held very impressive ceremonies at Eiheiji monastery where he preached the bodhisattva precepts to the laity.[64]

Dōgen also notes that among the Buddha's disciples, there were laymen and laywomen who continued to live a family life, and he states how these disciples were highly honored.[65] In his works, Dōgen also mentions a number of laypeople and their virtues. Vimalakirti, Hōun and Yō Bunkō are some of these virtuous laypeople.[66] He also relates a story of a layman named Tōba, lived during the Sung dynasty, who realized the truth after hearing the sound of a mountain stream flowing at night.[67] Furthermore, he accepts that there are bodhisattvas who abandon family life, as well as bodhisattvas who are lay.[68]

Thus, on the one hand, Dōgen sees abandoning family life and living a monastic life based on the precepts as the foundation of Buddhism; while on the other hand, he does not consider the Vinaya rules to be obligatory and attaches primary importance to the bodhisattva precepts that can also be practiced by the laity. This gives a place to the laity in the teaching Dōgen taught and the community he built. As a matter of fact, Dōgen did not completely isolate the laity from religious life despite the exclusionary attitude he adopted towards them, especially during the Echizen period. First of all, Dōgen accepts the existence of a community of laity. He also mentions that laity participate in religious life in certain ways. He points out that they show respect and care for famous Zen monks, visit Zen masters like monks, and perform certain practices with them.[69] In the community that Dōgen designed, the laity made material donations to the monastery, such as

62 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. I, pp. 115-176.
63 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. I, p. 210.
64 Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, p. 32.
65 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. I, p. 96.
66 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, p. 14.
67 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. I, p. 110.
68 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, p. 312.
69 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō The True Dharma-Eye Treasury*, vol. II, trans. Gudo Wafu Nishijima and Chodo Cross (USA: BDK America, 2007), p. 194.

food, [70] built monasteries,[71] and participated in the opening ceremony of the summer retreat.[72] Moreover, although monks were the primary addressees of the sermons in Dōgen's *Eihei Goroku,* which sheds light on the latter part of his life, it is known that laity also participated in these sermons.[73] Also, there were impressive ceremonies at Eiheiji monastery where Dōgen preached bodhisattva precepts to the laity.[74] Finally, it should be mentioned that the laity were included in the routine of monastery as well. The lay people organize meals for the monastics, after which they can circumambulate the monks' hall, attend the sermon and could listen to the monks preach about the sutras.[75]

In conclusion, it seems that Dōgen's view regarding the laity has undergone various transformations over time according to the conditions in which he has been. In the period between 1227, when Dōgen returned from China where studied Zen, and 1243 when he left Kōshōji monastery with his community and moved to Echizen, he developed a very inclusive understanding that also addressed the laity. After moving to Echizen, especially in the early period when he restructured his community, he used a more exclusionary language by emphasizing the importance of monastic life and considered those who lived a monastic life as his primary target. From his works and practices, it is understood that after shaping his community, Dōgen relatively left this exclusionary language behind and improved his relations with the lay community during the time period that coincided with the last periods of his life.

The rapid spread of the Sōtō school occurred after Dōgen brought about significant changes in the position of the laity. With the rapid spread of the school among the people, there was a shift from the Chinese-sourced zazen-centered monastic tradition as expounded by Dōgen to a popular Zen that took into account the needs of the laity and tended to be compatible with local religious traditions. Sōtō monasteries continued to practice *zazen* and *kōan*, and to study Dōgen's works and the *kōan* collections from China, but over

70 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, p. 143.
71 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō, Shōbōgenzō The True Dharma-Eye Treasury*, vol. III, trans. Gudo Wafu Nishijima and Chodo Cross (USA: BDK America, 2007), p. 335.
72 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, vol. IV, p. 98.
73 *Dogens Extensive Records, A Translation of the Eihei Kōroku*, p. 37.
74 Bodiford, Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan, p. 32.
75 Dōgen, *Eihei Shingi*, pp. 88, 124.

time these practices lost their centrality, becoming formalistic and devoid of content. They were replaced by large-scale meditation and ordination ceremonies in which the laity could participate. In these ceremonies, hundreds of monks and lay people meditated together and accepted the bodhisattva precepts. These changes were instrumental in the Sōtō school gaining many followers, spreading among the public, and responding to the religious demands and needs of the people.[76]

Keizan Jōkin (1264-1325) is a name that particularly deserves attention regarding the developments that changed the position of laity in the period after Dōgen. Keizan and his followers enabled Sōtō Zen teachings to gain interest and establish a place among the public by spreading ordination and initiation practices that give the opportunity to the lay practitioners receiving bodhisattva precepts. These initiation ceremonies allowed the laity to establish connections with the Zen lineage, and thus with Buddha, providing an opportunity for ordinary people who did not have the chance to receive strict monastery training to be included in Zen teaching while continuing their family lives.[77] This is a very important transformation in terms of the position of lay practitioners. This is because, through the initiation ceremonies, lay practitioners gained a position similar to those living monastery life in Sōtō religiosity.

Dōgen rejected opportunities to spread the teaching, arguing that those who sincerely wanted to learn Zen could find him in some way. Keizan and his followers, on the other hand, did not miss any opportunity to bring the teaching to the people. In addition, Dōgen opposed all forms of syncretism in order not to compromise the centrality of zazen practice. Keizan and his followers, on the other hand, often incorporated elements from other Buddhist schools and popular cults to the Sōtō practice, reflecting the aim of spreading the teaching to the public.[78] This is clearly seen in Keizan's monastic rules, which have a very broad pantheon of divine beings, ranging from the deities of esoteric teaching to Pure Land bodhisattvas, to local spirits and Shinto deities.[79]

76 Collcutt, "Zen and the Gozan", p. 647.
77 *Dogens Extensive Records, A Translation of the Eihei Kōroku*, pp. 14-15.
78 Collcutt, "Zen and the Gozan", p. 647.
79 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 44-45, 56, 65, 72-74, 94-96, 99-102, 166-167, 195, 281-284 etc.

Another point where Keizan differs from Dōgen regarding the position of the laity is the language he uses. As explained in the preceding pages, Dōgen generally uses exclusive language toward the lay community in his texts, with the exception of those written early in his career. It is true that Keizan also emphasized the importance of living a monastic life within certain rules, for which he wrote his own text of monastic rules. However, Keizan does not use exclusive language like Dōgen, and does not consider monastics as the only target; religious people are also among the primary target of Keizan's teaching. He recognizes the Sōtō community as a whole, without emphasizing the distinction between monastic and non-monastic. The use of inclusive expressions such as "all beings," "all human beings," and "the entire community" in his works indicates this. Moreover, Keizan saw all living things as participants in the rituals and prayers performed in the monastery.[80]

The monastery Keizan built is the center of the religious life of the laity as well as the monastics. Dōgen founded his monastery in an isolated area and devoted himself to the training of a small number of monks, aiming to build a strict monastic life rather than to gain a wide audience.[81] Keizan, on the other hand, opened the doors of the monastery to the laity, allowing them to participate in almost the entire monastic routine in various ways. The Keizan Shingi contains references to the presence of laity and donors in almost all rituals performed at the monastery. In the monastery envisioned by Keizan, the laity participate in rituals ranging from sutra recitation to the Upavasa ritual, from offering alms to the arhats to memorial rites for deceased ancestors.[82] They were even involved in sponsoring daily activities such as monks' bathing.[83]

The most important ritual that indicates the status of the laity in Keizan's teachings is the Upavasa ritual. According to the Keizan Shingi, the laity receive bodhisattva precepts together with monks in the Upavasa ritual, which takes place twice a month in the monastic routine. During the Upavasa ritual,

80 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 85, 134-135, 180, 181, 200, 283, 303, 353 etc.; Keizan, *Den-kōroku*, pp. 229, 270.

81 Bodiford, "Zen in the Art of Funerals: Ritual Salvation in Japanese Buddhism", *History of Religions*, vol. 32, No. 2 (1992), The University of Chicago Press, p. 149.

82 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 34, 135-136, 173-174, 211, 234-235.

83 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, p. 300.

which is performed in the dharma hall or Buddha hall following a detailed procedure, laypeople and monks together receive the bodhisattva precepts. A sermon is then given on the importance of these precepts, emphasizing that they were taught by the Buddha and are the foundation of the bodhisattva path. It is believed that reciting these moral and ethical principles, which are accepted and memorized, brings blessings to all beings and should be practiced by everyone. At the end of the ritual, everyone present is asked if they accept and will practice these principles. Both monks and laypeople respond in unison that they will.[84] It is believed that by participating in this ritual and receiving the precepts, both monks and laypeople will have their karma purified, and all participants should follow the Buddha's teachings.[85]

The importance of the fact that laypeople could take the bodhisattva precepts is the relationship between these precepts and the attainment of enlightenment. Keizan accepted that taking the bodhisattva precepts would lead to enlightenment. In the Upavasa ritual, when participants are asked whether they accept the precepts, it is stated that taking the precepts leads to a connection with the Buddha's transcendental body and the birth of the mind of enlightenment.[86] The medieval Sōtō school believed that taking the precepts would bring the laity spiritual protection in this world and salvation after death. The person who accepts these precepts and undergoes ordination and initiation is considered to be connected with the Buddha's enlightenment. Indeed, because of this acceptance, at the ceremonies where the precepts are received, holy water is sprinkled on the participants and a wooden stick which had been placed in the holy water is touched to the head of the participants to establish a physical connection between the Zen master and his lineage and the person who accepts the precepts. More importantly, those who participate in the ceremonies and receive the precepts are given certificates of initiation into the Zen lineage and enlightenment. These documents, called *kechimyaku* 血脈, contain the name of the Buddha, other Buddhist patriarchs, the Zen master who gave the precepts, and the name of the person who received them. The laity's name is tied to the Buddha with a red thread, symbolizing a 'blood relationship' with the Buddha. In the

84 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 124, 126-130, 132-136,139.
85 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 138-139.
86 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, p. 135.

medieval Sōtō school, and especially in religious communities, this document was held in high esteem as the ultimate proof of one's connection with the Buddha, a symbol of salvation and enlightenment.[87] Those who received this certificate, whether monks or lay, were considered "sons of the Buddha" and equal in status with all Buddhas.[88]

The fact that the lay patron of the monastery attends an important ceremony such as the opening of the dharma hall and actively participates in the ceremony by reciting prayers also points to the important status of the laity in the community structure envisioned by Keizan. At the opening ceremony of the dharma hall of Yōkōji monastery, the patrons actively participate in the ceremony by reciting prayers. At the beginning of the ceremony, incense is offered to the lay patrons of the monastery and prayers are said on behalf of their family and lineage. These prayers cover material and spiritual matters, ranging from the long life of the patrons and their descendants to the rewards for their continued support of the monastery. Moreover, during this ceremony, even the abbot of the monastery bows to the lay patron and expresses his respect and reverence for him.[89]

In addition to approving laypeople's participation in various monastic rituals, Keizan Shingi mentions rituals performed at the request of laypeople for their own worldly and spiritual benefit. The laity have the right to request from monks to perform rituals themselves. A lay donor who makes a donation to a monastery may request that a sermon be preached at the monastery after the midday meal. In addition, the laypeople who make various donations can ask for lectures on dharma and morality, sutra recitation or chanting rituals. A formal preaching program in the dharma hall and ceremonies for the worship of the Buddha and bodhisattvas are also practices that the laity can request from monks to organize. Keizan shingi states that monks should respond to such requests, wishes and special needs of laypeople.[90]

Another indication of the strong status of the laity in Keizan and, after Keizan, in the Sōtō school is the shaping influence of the laypeople on

87 Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 182-183; *Nichi-Ei Bukkyo Jiten*, "Kechimyaku 血脈", p. 166.
88 Faure, *Visions of Power*, p. 62
89 Keizan, "Tōkokuki", trans. Bodiford, "Keizan's Dream History" within, *Religions of Japan in Practice*, ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 504-507.
90 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 11, 87-88.

monastic buildings and the objects within them. One of the best examples of this is the active role played by the laity in the design of the Buddha Hall of Yokoji monastery. The statues in the Buddha Hall of Yōkōji monastery were donated by the laypeople, who actively participated in the rituals of their installation. The laypeople who donated the statues to the monastery aimed for their own and their families' salvation after death, and monks and laypeople acted together in the rituals of their installation and iconization.[91]

Another point that indicates that Keizan saw the monastery as the center of the religious life of the laity as well as the monastics, and that he allocated an important position to the laity in his teaching, are the prayers made on behalf of the laity. According to Keizan Shingi, after most of the rituals that are performed in the monastery, prayers are made for donors, patrons, devotees and emperors to achieve their worldly desires as well as to attain enlightenment. The laity to whom the prayers are directed are primarily the donors and their families who support the monastery materially. However, the prayers are not limited to these, but also include laity who do not support the monastery. Moreover, at times the whole community and all beings are also addressed. Prayers for worldly benefits, such as fertile harvests and good health, as well as spiritual gains such as the laypeople's devotion to the religion and their attainment of enlightenment, are among the subjects of the monks' prayers on behalf of the laity.[92] What is interesting about the prayers on behalf of the laity is that these prayers are also performed after basic monastic rituals such as Upavasa and sutra recitation and are common throughout the monastic routine. This points to the importance of the laity in the teaching and monastic system Keizan constructed.

The merit transfer is another topic we should mention pertaining to the status of laity in Keizan. After the rituals performed in the monastery, the merit gained from performing the ritual is sent to the gods, guardians and spiritual beings, as well as to the laity. This practice is not limited to specific rituals but is integrated into the general routine of the monastery. After the ritual, the monks send the merit to the laity, both those who support

91 Faure, *Visions of Power; Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, trans.Phyl Brooks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 240.

92 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 34, 49, 72, 75, 84-85, 101, 103,134, 194, 195, 200, 250, 284, 285, 286, 343 etc.

the monastery materially and those who do not. For example, in the *Leng-yen* prayer ritual performed during the summer retreat, the merit from the recitation of sutras and esoteric texts is sent to a long list of laypeople. The merits are also sent to the deceased ones from lay community.[93] During the festival of hungry ghosts known as *Obon*, monks recite sutras and *dharanis* and chant the Buddha's names, donating the merit they have earned to all beings, especially their deceased families.[94] In conclusion, the fact that the monks shared the merits of the rituals they performed in the monastic routine with the laypeople allowed the laity to benefit from the rituals performed in the monastery while not living as monastics.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Keizan himself, who considered the laity to be the primary target in his teaching, as well as those who lived the monastic life, had students and patrons from the lay community. It should also be stated that that Keizan was interested in their religious life. In this context, Keizan's relationship with his lay patrons is particularly interesting. First of all, it should be noted that Yōkōji monastery was not only an institution where monks renounced family life, but also a temple where ceremonies were held for the salvation of lay patrons. The dominant role of lay patrons in the establishment and continuity of the monastery led the monastery to host ceremonies dedicated to them. Indeed, Yokoji monastery was not only an institution for monks, but also a temple where prayers were offered for the souls of its two most important patrons, the Sakai and Sakawa families and their ancestors. Keizan gave his patrons a special place in the community and advised his successors to continue to honor them.[95] Keizan also encouraged his lay patrons to take the bodhisattva precepts to attain enlightenment and gave Buddhist names the ones who took the precepts. Keizan went beyond just giving the precepts to the laity, he also preached Zen teaching and meditation to his lay students and explained the mysteries of Zen to them. Moreover, the lay donors also used the monastery for their own religious practices.[96] As it turns out, Zen masters also had lay students,

93 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 72, 75, 85, 92-93, 283, 284-286 etc.
94 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 301-303, 312-314.
95 Faure, *Visions of Power*, pp. 154, 190.
96 Bodiford, "The Growth of the Sōtō Zen Tradition in Medieval Japan", PhD Thesis, (Yale University, 1989), pp. 189-192.

and these students were able to go to the monastery to greet their teacher and listen to the sermons like monks.[97]

Conclusion

As a result, it is understood that in the medieval Sōtō school with Keizan, the laity were more active in the religious sphere than in previous periods. The religious life of the lay community belonging to the Sōtō school of this period was activated with opportunities that did not exist in previous periods or that existed only for a very limited number of lay people. The laypeople participated in monastic rituals, were exposed to teaching, and had rituals performed for them. More importantly, the door of salvation was opened to the laity by giving them the chance to receive the precepts. Some of these opportunities had been available to the laity in earlier periods or in other Buddhist schools as well in a partial way. But the real transformation that the Sōtō school caused for the laity is that it made all these opportunities possible for the general populace. This transformation caused by the Sōtō school and the practices it popularized within the Sōtō community show that the monastics and the laity continued to exist as two separate groups but were largely equalized in terms of rituals they performed and attainment of salvation.

When considering the teachings and practices of Keizan, it becomes clear that the distinction between monastics and laypeople largely lost its significance both theoretically and practically. Enlightenment was accepted as an attainable for laypeople just as it was for monastics. And the laity began to perform many of the rituals performed by monks. Moreover, through the concept of merit transfer, lay people became partners in the spiritual gains of the rituals performed by monks. Therefore, while the two communities continued to exist as formally separate groups in Keizan's teachings and practices, it is evident that the theoretical and practical dynamics underlying the distinction between the two communities had disappeared. Of course, the monastery continued to exist as an institution where those who left family life communally pursued a religious way of life within the framework of rules. However, with Keizan,

97 Keizan, *Keizan's Monastic Regulations*, pp. 37-38; Keizan, *Denkōroku*, p. 196.

the Sōtō monastery, in addition to its traditional function, actively took on an additional function as the religious center for lay practitioners who wished to attain salvation while continuing their family lives.

It is understood that the lay people, for whom supporting the monastery materially was considered the main religious activity in the tradition, engaged in new activities in the name of their salvation. With Keizan, the lay community in the medieval Sōtō school was included in the scope of rituals performed only for the monastic community. The most important of these rituals, was the Upavasa ritual, which also played an important place in the monthly routine of the monastery. In his text on monastic rules, Keizan notes that, unlike in Chanyuan and Eihei Shingi, the laity could also participate in the ordination and initiation rituals in which monks received the Boddhisattva precepts. In the medieval Sōtō school, along with Keizan, the laity also participated in these rituals in the same procedure as monks, believed that they would attain enlightenment through these rituals, and even received documents proving their attainment of enlightenment. These documents show that the laypeople, like monks, were included in the Zen lineage that connected them to the Buddha.

These results show that while the lay community and the monastic community continued to be symbolically different from each other, the medieval Sōtō community structure evolved into a form in which the lay community was largely equalized with monastic community in terms of the rituals they performed and the states they reach by performing these rituals. The lay community, which traditionally had a secondary position in the religious sphere compared to the monastic community, was drawn to the center by gaining the opportunity to perform the same rituals and attain the same states as the monks. By opening the center to the periphery and the periphery to the center, a new center was formed in which the periphery and the center were similar.

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Bushidō as a Motive for Yukio Mishima's Seppuku: A Psychoanalytic Discourse Analysis

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1. Introduction

Yukio Mishima (1925-1970), known for his intense literary output and deeply ideological convictions, has been the subject of academic studies for scholars whose works vary from psychology to literature within the realm of Mishima's political setting,[1] surrounding his life and works, psychological attributes,[2] his literary products, and his legacy.[3] Among these themes, especially his *seppuku* (ritual suicide)[4] has become an emblematic moment in post-war Japanese history and discourse on identity, modernity, and cultural decline.

In this paper, the subject of Mishima's suicide speech in the General's office of the East Japan Division of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force at

1 Coldren, "Literature of Bushidō: Loyalty, Honorable Death, and the Evolution of the Samurai Ideal," *International Research Scape Journal:* vol. 1, Article 2, (2014). https://doi.org/10.25035/irj.01.01.02

2 Yamamoto and Mamoru, "Japanese Suicide: Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima", *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis 3*, no. 2 (June 1, 1975), pp. 179-86. https://doi.org/10.1521/jaap.1.1975.3.2.179.; Sadanobu Ushijima, "The Narcissism and Death of Yukio Mishima: From the Object Relational Point of View," *The Japanese Journal of Psychiatry and Neurology* 41, no. 4, (1987), p. 620.

3 Johnson,"Yukio Mishima, the Unambiguous, and Myself: Living through a Writer's Legacy," *Advances in Literary Study*, vol. 1, No. 4, (2013), pp. 50-53. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/als.2013.14012

4 Seppuku (切腹, 'cutting belly'), also known as harakiri (腹切り, 'abdomen/belly cutting'), is a form of Japanese ritualistic suicide by disembowelment. See Sone, "Beyond Performance: Yukio Mishima's Theatre of Death," *Performance Research* 15 (1): (2010), pp. 32-40; Damian Flanagan, Yukio Mishima, (Reaktion Books Ltd, 2014), p. 7.

the Ichigaya military base, Tokyo, on November 25, 1970, will be analyzed by elaborating on his political stance (his patriotic and ultra-nationalist attitude) and the legacy of samurai culture, considering Mishima's revision of *Hagakure,* a samurai book written by Yamamoto Tsunemoto in 1716[5], in *the Way of the Samurai* (1967)[6] and *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai* (1969).[7]

The speech he delivered before his seppuku serves as a layered text that reflects his dense ideological views, psychological struggles (hopelessness and desperation over Japan's post-war identity crisis), and deeply ingrained cultural identity inspired by the samurai culture of Japan. Mishima's death was not solely an act of self-demolition, but an orchestrated complex cultural, political, and psychological statement, which is similar to a theatrical performance beginning with a political public speech and finalized with suicide. Therefore, Mishima's seppuku speech, delivered in the face of death, demands a nuanced interpretation that incorporates theories of discourse analysis, cultural philosophy, psychoanalysis, and the Samurai Code (*Bushidō*)[8] to fully grasp the motivations behind his actions and the critical analysis of the content of his speech. By blending these frameworks, I will delve into Mishima's death speech as a culmination of ideological, psychological, and linguistic forces.

1.1. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The current literature centers around Mishima's personal and professional lives, spotting mainly his literary works, their analyses, his psychological and sexual tendencies, his political admirations, and his death. One feature of the analysis of Mishima stands out: the interpretation of findings slightly changed from the 1970s to the 2000s, though the findings and nuances are

5 Yamamoto, *Hagakure. The Book of the Samurai*, The Way of the Warrior Series, trans. William Scott Wilson. (Kodansha International, 2002). https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=PSPUtgWH4bQC.

6 Mishima, *Way of Samurai: Yukio Mishima on Hagakure in Modern Times*, trans. Kathryn Sparling, (A New York: Perigee Books, 1983).

7 Mishima, *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai*, trans. Masaki Jinzaburo, (Nihon Kyōbunsha, July 1969).

8 The Samurai Code, Bushidō, is a set of values that signifies the loyalty, honor, and adherence to the master, emperor or filial symbols. See G. Cameron Hurst III, "Death, Honor, and Loyality: The Bushidō Ideal," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 40, No. 4, *Understanding Japanese Values*, (University Hawai'i Press: Oct., 1990), pp. 511-527. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1399355

so close to each other. The early studies[9] focused more on Mishima's suicide as an object of "Japanese" writers' suicide, compared to Ōe Kenzaburō[10] and Yasunari Kawabata's,[11] his manhood (which his grandmother affected the most[12] and was symbolized by the emperor system of Japan[13]) and by a cultural explosion,[14] mainly influenced by Japanese samurai culture. Overall, the preceding studies approached Mishima's seppuku in a psycho-social dynamics, the evaluations sometimes link specific experiences to larger themes, or 'mono-causal association' like emperor worship, feminine malady, and sexual fantasies.[15] After the 2000s, the findings of studies showed a tendency to focus on mostly interior-exterior dialects of Mishima's life, which incorporate the broader socio-historical context such as his trouble with modern liberal democracy after WW2 and his seppuku as a reaction,[16] his

9 Yamanouchi, "Mishima Yukio and his Suicide", (*Modern Asian Studies*, 6, 1972), 3. doi:10.1017/S0026749X00000287.

10 Napier, "Death and the Emperor: Mishima, Ōe, and the Politics of Betrayal," *The Journal of Asian Studies 48*, no. 1, 1989), pp. 71-89. https://doi.org/10.2307/2057665

11 Yamamoto and Iga, "Japanese Suicide: Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima," *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 3, no. 2: by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., (1975).

12 Yamamoto and Iga states that Mishima's suicide was triggered external signifiers such as gender tendencies and prominent mother figure in his early isolated life. See Joe Yamamoto and Mamoru Iga, "Japanese Suicide: Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima", pp. 179-186; Sadanobu Ushijima, "The Narcissism and Death of Yukio Mishima: From the Object Relational Point of View", *The Japanese Journal of Psychiatry and Neurology 41*, no. 4, (1987) p. 620; Jerry Piven, "Phallic Narcissism, Anal Sadism, and Oral Discord: The Case of Yukio Mishima, Part I," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 88: 6, (December 2001).

13 Susan Napier states that the writings of Mishima are signifying the worship for the emperor. See Susan Napier, "Death and the Emperor: Mishima, Ōe, and the Politics of Betrayal", pp. 71-89.

14 According to Yamamoto and Iga, Mishima's self-centered manner prevented him from being sensitive to others; he tried to fill his vulnerabilities (he was raised isolated from the outside world by his grandmother); therefore, they acclaim his seppuku as a personal decision, a heroic act to restore the lost spirit of Japan. However, from my point of view, they contradict how the facts are interpreted. They claim: "Apparently the concept of superego and guilt are not factors in these suicides; their life histories show very little element of self-blame." For them, the act was a personal decision, not about the superego (symbolic world, outside of us, the laws, confinements, etc.) but a heroic act. This is why I disagree with them; if the suicidal act is heroic, if Mishima sacrificed himself for greater good, how that could be not related to superego? For me, considering his final speech, it is quite a cultural manifestation, in which he exalted his 'Japanese' identity, conforming to his ideal self. See Joe Yamamoto and Mamoru Iga, "Japanese Suicide: Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima", pp. 184-185.

15 Matthew Chozick, "Queering Mishima's Suicide as Crisis of Language", *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies*, (2007), pp. 2-3. https://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/discussionpapers/2007/Chozick.html

16 Nayla Chidiac cautiously approaches Mishima's seppuku by underlying the socio-cultural conditions and Mishima's enigmatic disposition. Nayla Chidiac, "Mishima: Writer of body, life and death," Ann Med Psychol, Paris: 2024); Rodica Frentiu states that Mishima's seppuku is a kind of

usage of the body as a medium of expression of the inner and exterior (which were split by cultural norms[17]) his internalization of Japanese tradition and his eroticism.[18]

Among the studies, Andrew Smith's article[19] on the critical cultural analysis of Mishima's seppuku speech is the closest study to the aim of this research. Even though our methodologies (critical cultural analysis and critical discourse analysis) and our findings are similar, the way the findings are interpreted differs; This research mostly focused on psychological and psychoanalytical evaluations by referencing Mishima's affiliations, conversely, Smith addressed speech, focusing on a lingo-social and cultural context by referencing his 'individual sexuality'. His evaluations are more tied to 'incipient' materialistic explanations, which are structured by linguistic formative relativism.[20] For Smith, during giving a speech, Mishima's body is the object of his exhibitionist sexuality on a theatrical stage, and his suicide is merely an individualistic act that reaffirms cultural tradition. In contrast, I emphasize Mishima's imaginative and abstract worldview, and my research suggests that his suicide seems, on the surface, a cultural manifestation

protest, salvation and recognition of Japanese soul in the changing Japanese socio-cultural life. See Rodica Frentiu, Yukio Mishima: "Thymos or the Desire for Recognition in the Bushido Code", *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai-Philologia 3*, (2009) pp. 287-297. Again Frentiu in another article, slightly mentions Mishima's narcissism and passionate nature while explaining his death as 'trancending the history' by being unforgettable and timeless. See Rodica Frentiu, "Yukio Mishima: Thymos between Aesthetics and İdeological Fanaticism," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, 9, 25, (Spring 2010), pp. 71-87.

17 Matthew Chozick suggest a vehement explanation: Residual cognition. It can be understood as the lingering or leftover thoughts, emotions, and subconscious understandings that shape an individual's worldview or sense of self. In Mishima's case, as Chozick evaluates, Mishima transcending the boundaries of language and expresses his 'violent and homoerotic fantasies' worldview. Matthew Chozick, "Queering Mishima's Suicide as Crisis of Language," pp. 1-10.

18 Andrew Rankin, Mishima, aesthetic terrorist: An intellectual portrait, (University of Hawai'i Press, 2018), pp. 1-11; Kawasaka elaborates tediously on the emperor system of Japan and ethnonationalist measures in the scope of their relations with marginalized groups like homosexuals and minorities. Kawasaka asserts that Mishima's political act is a constructive path for homosexual as a comfort zone. Inclusion and exclusion are the key points. Kazuyoshi Kawasaka, "Mishima Yukio and the Homoeroticisation of the Emperor of Japan", *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics*, 2(2), 23, (2018), pp. 1-11.

19 Smith, "Mishima's seppuku speech: A critical-cultural analysis," *Text and Performance Quarterly 10*, (1990), pp. 1-19. Doi:10.1080/10462939009365951

20 Formative relativism is could be understood as an element of commonality of the social, historical, cultural, and linguistic practices we are part of. In other words, the way we form knowledge and interpret the world is not objective or universal but instead relative to our experiences, background, and the specific conditions under which we live.

that was delivered by a personal decision, but, for me, Mishima's 'inner' motivations utilised outer 'symbolic' measures to connect with his gender identity crisis. In this sense, while I am investigating Mishima's suicide from the interior to exterior measures, Smith observes it from the outside to the interior. My research suggests that his suicide is a personal manifestation and projection that reflected exterior cultural symbols such as the Emperor of Japan and the samurai code.

With a close look at the preceding studies, we see that there is a common theoretical framework: psychoanalytic dimensions. As Mishima's character is rather chaotic, scholars from diverse branches of academia and his biographer, Damian Flanagan,[21] approached Mishima's suicide by utilizing psycho-social apparatus (modernity and individual struggles; his ego formation, sexual sadomasochistic fantasies, biases like being eternal and his suicide) and even Mishima himself in the revision of Hagakure emphasize the importance of subconscious repression of violence and hatred, and the necessity of the taking action.[22]

Considering the current literature, there is a lack of psychoanalytic discourse analysis of Mishima's seppuku speech. Therefore, to integrate the connections between the discourse of his seppuku speech and ritual suicide, by blending diverse disciplines in the same melting pot, I formed these questions:

> — The main question: What and how does his seppuku speech reveal his stance amid Japan's psycho-social, political, and cultural circumstances?
> — The sub-questions: Considering his seppuku speech analysis, how did he idealize/envision himself/ his identity in post-war Japan? What were the possible intentions of his final act?

While answering these questions, I followed in the footsteps of Smith's understanding of Mishima's subjective time interrupting modern Japanese history,[23] according to Smith, Mishima's seppuku is an enigmatic moment

21 Flanagan, Yukio Mishima.
22 Mishima, *Way of the Samurai*, 7, pp. 26-28.
23 Smith, "Mishima's seppuku speech," pp. 1-16.

breaking into the post-war Japan's imaginative time-being, saluting the pre-modern Japanese tradition. In other words, by renouncing the historicity of Japan, he endorsed his own historicity, namely nostalgic passions.

I.I.I. Methodology: Integrating Discursive Formation of Yukio Mishima's Seppuku Speech to Suicide Psychology

To understand the main dynamics of Mishima's seppuku, I will first introduce a historical background of Mishima's Japan by referencing the suicide culture and rising patriotic language in Imperial and post-war Japan to observe the rupture in his Japanese vision and his mental development (his perception of the changing socio-political environment of Japan) throughout the decades. Pertaining to Mishima's perceptive changes, mainly his later works like *Way of the Samurai*, the revision of Hagakure, *Lectures on Young Samurai*, and *Patriotism*, I will use. As the methodological frame of this paper, I rely on post-modern critical linguistic studies like critical discourse analysis (CDA) that unveil the power dynamics in one's discourse.[24] I preferred Teun Van Dijk's[25] critical discourse analysis theory because it enables us to observe the socio-psychological contextual and situational frameworks and their connections with Mishima's seppuku speech. CDA reveals how political discourse constructs social norms and ideologies that influence people's subjectivity.

To theoretically introduce Van Dijk's CDA, the tenets of the discourse must be noted. The discourse consists of three main categories: Text (overall meaning and theme- macrostructure-, organization of text- Superstructure-, and linguistic features and discourse strategies- microstructure-), Social Cognition (mental representations and shared knowledge), and Social Context (external factors and power structures).[26]

24 Van Dijk's CDA emphasizes power, ideologies, and social structures, with a focus on understanding how discourse influences social cognition and context. According to Van Dijk, the ideology and its social context is essential to understand the exposed dominant understanding to the 'mass' by elites. See Teun A. Van Dijk, Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power, *Annals of the International Communication Association, Yearbook 12*, (1989), pp. 18-59; Teun A. van Dijk, *Semantic Macro-Structures and Knowledge Frames in Discourse Comprehension*, (University of Amsterdam, Psychology Press, 1977), pp. 1-31.

25 For detail see *Discourse and Literature*, edited by Teun Van Djk, (John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 1-7; Nils Erik Enkvist, "Text and Discourse Linguistics, Rhetoric, and Stylistics", in *Discourse and Literature*, pp. 11-32.

26 Van Dijk, *Semantic Macro-Structures and Knowledge Frames in Discourse Comprehension*, pp. 1-31;

To integrate these CDA frameworks into psychoanalytic measures, I will focus on the intersections between language, power, and identity. In CDA, the language reflects and reinforces social power structures, and in Lacanian theory, language is also the means through which the subject is constituted in the symbolic order.[27] In other words, language, as the medium between the subject and outside of the subject, enables the construction of social structures. By combining these, one can investigate how discourse shapes not only societal power but also the psychological structure of individuals' identities.

For that purpose, I will trace Yukio Mishima's afflatus, the samurai code (bushido), and his literary works, including *The Way of the Samurai* (1967) and *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai* (1969), to evaluate his identity construction. In the later part, I will evaluate the findings of Mishima's discursive formation by referencing psychoanalytic modes, mostly the Freudian trilogy, and Lacanian ego formation by linking to Alfred Adler's inferiority/superiority theory, and Erich Fromm's studies on freedom for modern individuals, to explain Mishima's identity construction, his obsession with beauty and death, and his admiration of the emperor and Imperial Japan in modern Japan.

2. Patriotism, Suicide, and Modernity: Mishima's Japan

In this part, to comprehensively handle Mishima's exterior world, I will merely focus on the socio-political upheavals between the 1930s and the date of Mishima's death in 1970—corresponding to post-war Japan. I first give a short account of 1930s Japan, which Mishima admired most, symbolizing this period as his ultimate vision of Japan, to systematize the rest of this paper. My main focus will be how the patriotic discourse utilization, which emphasizes

Teun A. van Dijk, *Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts Influence Text and Talk*, (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2009), pp. 110-122; Lacan's theory of ego formation is a new reading of Freudian psychoanalysis. For him, the ego is fragmented as Real (that which is beyond language and cannot be symbolized), and imaginary (the formation of the ego through images and identification) within the symbolic order (language, law, and social structures). See Elizabeth Grosz, *Jacques Lacan: Feminist Bir Giriş*, trans. Özde Çakmak, (Otonom Yayıncılık, 2021), pp. 62-126; Jacques Lacan, *Baba-Nın-Adları*, trans. Murat Erşen, (Monokoly Yayınları, 2014), pp. 24-51.

27 Bracher, "Lacan's theory of the four discourses", *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism*, 11:3, (1988): 32-49, DOI: 10.1080/01440358808586349

the emperor's divinity, echoed the socio-political changes, considering the suicide culture of Japan.

By the mid-1930s, Japanese ultra-nationalists were gaining ground and beginning to reshape the country's political landscape against the Proletarian Movement (which had been strong during the early 1920s and 1930s and focused on Marxist principles, advocating for workers' rights, land reforms, and social justice). Major labor unions, socialist parties, and communist organizations had significant influence, particularly after the effects of the Great Depression, which had deeply affected Japan's working class.[28] This period witnessed a military coup attempt: the February 26 Incident of 1936, where young officers within the Japanese military tried to seize power to implement military rule. As a response, the Japanese government passed stringent laws to suppress leftist movements, including the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 and the National Mobilization Law of 1938, effectively silencing the Proletarian Movement and all opposing political ideologies.[29]

Following these developments, the ultra-nationalist tendencies evoked the usage of patriotic language that penetrated Japanese political and military discourse, influenced by Confucian ethics.[30] To boost a strong national identity among troops, by issuing an imperial rescript to the soldiers and sailors in 1882, the government attempted to nourish patriotic sentiments such as loyalty, duty, service, obedience, and sacrifice while warning the soldiers to refrain from political activities.[31] Moreover, beginning in 1937 the Ministry of Education promulgated a famous manifesto, "The Cardinal Principles of the National Polity" (*Kokutai no hongi*) in schools. It asserted that "serving the Emperor and accepting the Emperor's august will as one's own" should be the pivotal element of the morality of Japanese pupils.[32]

The patriotic theme was reflected in Natsume Soseki's (1867-1916) *The Heart* (*Kokoro*), which portrays the protagonist's devotion to the emperor. The protagonist expresses his emotions regarding the emperor Meiji's passing as follows: "I felt as though the spirit of the Meiji era had begun with the emperor

28 Gordon, *A modern history of Japan: from Tokugawa times to the present*, (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 186-199.
29 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, pp. 161-173.
30 Hunter, *The Emergence of Modern Japan: An Introductory History Since 1853*, (Longman, 1989), p. 66.
31 Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, (Westview Press, 2013), p. 96.
32 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, p. 199.

and had ended with him."[33] Emotional intensity in the novel reached its peak when General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912) and his wife committed suicide on the emperor's funeral day. This is described by Bargen as 'Honorable Suicide' in the Meiji spirit.[34] This suicide spirit, with the overflowing Western culture since the Meiji reforms, was strengthened by the new movements in Japanese literature such as naturalism and romanticism.[35] The notion of 'romanticism' in this context should be understood as an apolitical reaction against the mechanization and rationalization of modern society, which was perceived as an alienating force.[36] Writers and artists affiliated with this school looked to Japan's pre-modern past and traditional culture, viewing it as a source of inspiration for the future. A romantic nostalgia for a lost era of spiritual harmony and natural beauty characterized this movement. However, it also idealized Japan's imperial traditions, because of their perceived authenticity and depth.[37]

However, emphasizing introspection and individual experience was set against a backdrop of extreme societal strain, which became particularly evident among the country's intellectuals and writers. As Henry Scott Stokes notes, the high incidence of suicide among Japanese writers during this time can be seen as a reflection of the intense stress induced by Japan's rapid transformation from feudalism to industrial modernity. Writers, sensitive to the tensions of the era, often found themselves overwhelmed by the conflicting demands of tradition and modernity, as well as by the societal pressure to conform to national expectations. The tragic deaths of notable authors such as Akutagawa (d. 1937), Osamu Dazai (d. 1948), and Hara (d. 1951) exemplify this struggle, revealing the harsh emotional and intellectual toll exacted by the nation's swiftly changing environment.[38]

From my point of view, Mishima is also distinctively a powerful example of this complex intersection between the romantic ethos and the militarist, nationalistic culture of modern Japan. Mishima's fascination with death

33 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, p. 129.
34 Bargen, *Suicidal honor: General Nogi and the writings of Mori Ôgai and Natsume Sôseki*, (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), Acknowledgement; pp. 1-29; 172-190.
35 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, p. 159.
36 This is an essential point to adhere, Japanese romanticism, mainly is based on imagination, is not merely pragmatic movement; the imagination and idealization is the key features. See Rankin, *Mishima*, pp. 8-20; 165-184
37 Nathan, *Mishima: A Biography*, (Little, Brown & Company, 1974), pp. 46-51.
38 Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 135-136.

mirrored the tensions of his era, therefore, his suicide was a commentary on the conflict between Japan's imperial heritage and the overwhelming pressures of modern society.

3. Yukio Mishima's Biography: The transformation of art into politics

Yukio Mishima, born Kimitake Hiraoka on January 14, 1925, came into the world at the Tokyo home of the upper-middle-class Hiraoka family.[39] His grandparents, Jotaro and Natsuko Hiraoka, lived with his parents. Until the age of 12, Mishima was raised by his disciplined grandmother, Natsuko, who introduced kabuki (traditional Japanese drama) and jōruri (puppet theater) to Mishima.[40] Mishima's biographers Henry Scott Stokes and John Nathan assert that his dual identity was shaped by his grandmother, who exposed him to a strict manner, not allowing him to play with other male peers.[41] Even, psychiatrist Sadanobu Ushijima[42] assumes her role in Mishima's later identity crisis, as the protagonist in his novel exposes authorial self-identification;[43] his vulnerabilities are evident in *The Confession of a Mask* (*Kamen no kokuhaku* 仮面の告白, 1949), in which he unveiled his homosexual tendencies.[44]

39 Ushijima, "The Narcissism and Death of Yukio Mishima," p. 620.

40 After unification with his parents, Mishima visited his grandmother once a week, and at the age of 12-13, they went to see Chiishingura, a kabuki play that centers on the Harakiri of the 47 rōnin in 1704. See Henry Scott Stokes, *The Life and the Death of Yukio Mishima*, Cooper Square Press, 2000, p. 52; Naoki Inose and Hiroaki Sato, *Persona: A Biography of Yukio Mishima*, (Stone Bridge Press: Berkeley, California, 2012), pp. 40-67.

41 Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 37-49; John Nathan, Mishima: *A Biography*, p. 27.

42 Ushijima evaluates Mishima's identity crisis within two tails: 1- his childhood under strict grandmother and his admiration of his paternal figures as because his grandmother loves the 'male' figures, 2-his adolescence period with his mother, who protected Mishima from his disapproving anti-literary father, Azuse. This rupture in his life made Mishima to create a delusional 'intermediate area', in which he is outside of reality, somehow this was the main reason for Mishima's homosexuality. See Sadanobu Ushijima, "The Narcissism and Death of Yukio Mishima," p. 624; Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, p. 55.

43 Yamanouchi discusses the parallelity in Mishima 'and his characters' lives in the mentioned works, accordign to his hypothesis, Mishima created an 'autonomous' life for compensating his enmity towards the outside world. This connection between Mishima and his characters is particularly apparent in the way he presents the hero as a mask for himself, portraying a stoic and nihilistic figure whose inner turmoil mirrors his own. See Yamanouchi, "Mishima Yukio and his Suicide," pp. 1-10.

44 *In the Confessions*, Mishima depicts protagonist's first ejaculation tempted by Guido Reni's St. Sebastian, this image was a mix of pain, aesthetic, and sex. According to Yamanouchi, these themes such as the importance of body image in an antique Greek sense and the complex vision of beauty that blended with sadism were European originated. See Stokes, *the Life and Death of Yukio Mishi-*

Having returned to his mother's home, he attended middle school, where he participated actively in literary activities and began to read renowned Japanese and foreign writers like Junichiro Tanizaki, Rainer Maria Rilke, Raymond Radiguet, and Oscar Wilde.[45] During his days at the *Gakushiiin* (the peer schools), he composed his first long essay *Forest in Full Bloom* (花ざかりの森, *Hanazakari no Mori*) in 1941; while the Japanese forces prepared to launch the Pacific war under the conflicting views of the naval and army forces.[46] According to John Nathan, with *The Forest in Full Bloom*, Mishima's literary genre, romanticism began to be a burgeoning eclecticism of beauty, death, and ecstasy for the divine projection of his death.[47] This romantic literary approach is, as Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit[48] states, a cultural mission that varies around "transnational literary canon", in which he blends traditional Japanese elements –like archaic writing style– and modern literary characteristics, this literary structure overall is a hybrid system consisting of the cultural *Self* (Japanese tradition) and *Other* (out of Japanese tradition, mostly European influences).[49] Mishima's romanticism is important because it reflects the modernity of Japan in his works. The male characters are mostly antisocial and wounded, seeking revenge for the disappointing society; the females are depicted as the figures of fantasies.[50] As Shuichi Katō elaborates,

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ma, pp. 56-93; Hisaaki Yamanouchi, "Mishima Yukio and his Suicide," p. 2; Yukio Mishima, *The Confessions of A Mask*, trans. Meredith Weatherby, (A New Directions Book, 1958), Chp. 2.

45 Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, p. 63.

46 The navy and army had been conflicting visions on expansionism since the 1910s, the naval forces insisted on Pacific Ocean strategy to opt out the US (*Nanshin-ron*) as the army supported the Northward expansion (*Hokushin-ron*). See Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times To The Present*, pp. 180-181; Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 65-67.

47 Nathan, *Mishima: A Biography*, pp. 40-42.

48 Hijiya-Kirschnereit, "Hermes and Hermès: Othernesses in modern Japanese literature", in *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*, ed. Rachael Hutchinson and Mark Williams, (Routledge, 2007), pp. 26-27.

49 Kirschnereit dives into Mishima's representation of the Other (whom those out of Japanese tradition, mostly European accounts). The article declares that Mishima's protagonists reflects the modernity of Japan. See Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit, *Hermes and Hermès: Othernesses in Modern Japanese Literature*, pp. 26-33.

50 Susan J. Napier examines the key themes and characteristics of Mishima's works. For instance, in The Temple of the Golden Pavilion, while the female character is portrayed as the betrayer of both husband and son, the true source of betrayal and abandonment lies with the emperor. As Napier points out –and I concur– this sense of betrayal stems from a man's actions but is directed as a form of vengeance toward a woman. In my view, this creates a conflicting perspective in the portrayals. See Susan J. Napier, *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature: The Subversion of Modernity*, (Routledge, 1996), pp. 56-79.

Mishima's position in Japanese literature is close to the leading figure of the Japan Romantic School in the Shōwa period, Yasuda Yojūrō (1910-1981), whose works[51] are known for his psychological portrayals colored by irony and nihilism. He used the themes like "the Japanese spirit' (*Yamato damashii*) and "the Japanese heart" (*Yamato gokoro*).[52]

We could divide Mishima's romanticism into two phases: 1- The alienated Mishima until the mid-1950s, close to "I-Novelists" with the publishment of *The Confessions of a Mask*, and 2- The melancholic Mishima, burgeoning in the mid-1950s and matured in the 1960s when he used the emperor as a symbol of the means of unity in the nostalgic longing for the 1930s. As Yamanouchi and Mishima's biographer Damian Flanagan state, during the post-war period, as his hope faded away under cover of his stoic nihilism (the quest for sexual balance –homosexual sadomasochistic fantasies, refraining from women-, self-love, purposelessness, and eternity), the density of alienation from society[53] became intense in Mishima's further literary works in aforementioned *The Confessions of a Mask* (1949), *The Sound of Waves* (1954), *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* (1956), his short story, *A Story at the Cape* (1968), and his later success, *The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea* (1963).[54] In these works, the main literary components such as sex, death, beauty, love, bodily strength, and meaninglessness of time are sharpening in an ultimate form of literary practice towards his nihilism, he emphasized the meaninglessness of time and the eternity of beauty with a glamorous death.[55]

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51 Yasuda's works were not 'aesthete', he used irony and nihilism to depict violence and desire. This is the distinctive feature to distinguish Yasuda from Mishima's works. See Shuichi Katō, *A History of Japanese Literature: Volume 3, The Modern Years*, trans. Don Sanderson, (Paul Norbury Publications Ltd, 1983), pp. 287-289; Naoki Inose and Hiroaki Sato, *Persona: a biography of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 119-122.

52 Katō, *A History of Japanese Literature*, pp. 287-289; Naoki Inose and Hiroaki Sato, *Persona: A Biography of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 119-122; Rankin, *Mishima*, pp. 12-20;176-184.

53 The editor of *Bungei*, Utarō Noda's words on Mishima was reported by Shiga Naoya as follows: "'His stories are all dreams. They have no reality. They are no good". See Stokes, *the Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 87-88.

54 Yamanouchi, *Mishima Yukio and his Suicide*, 1-10; Naoki Inose and Hiroaki Sato, *Persona: A Biography of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 119-122; 379; Damian Flanagan, *Yukio Mishima*, pp. 88-137; 242; John Nathan, *A Biography: Yukio Mishima*, pp. 59-62; Henry Scott Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 75-85.

55 According to Damian Flanagan, Mishima metaphorized the sea with eternity in *The Sailor who Fell from Grace with the Sea* (1963) and the post-war disenchantment with the *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* (1956). See Damian Flanagan, *Yukio Mishima*, pp. 81-96.

As Susan Napier puts forward, this complicated thematic scheme transcends history by 'rewriting' or reconstructing it. For Napier, Mishima consciously reflects the Imperial household in his works by giving it in a more concrete medium instead of focusing solely on abstract concepts, he repeatedly ties the Japanese imperial family to themes like death, honor, and transcendence.[56]

Following its defeat in WWII, Japan underwent profound political, social, and economic transformations. Under General Douglas MacArthur's guidance during the U.S. occupation (1945-1952), Japan adopted a new constitution,[57] decreased war and military aggression (Article 9), and shifted towards a pacifist, democratic society. The economy was rebuilt with American aid and the implementation of reforms, including land redistribution and industrial modernization.[58] During this period, Mishima lost his balance, turned inward, and re-invented himself through metamorphosis: embracing traditional Japanese ideas.[59] Having confronted with the contradictions of post-war Japan and grappling with nihilism, Mishima sought to overcome despair by integrating both body and mind. Beginning in the 1950s, he deepened his commitment to physical training, viewing it as a means to address his internal struggles and counter his nihilistic tendencies. In doing so, he successfully reconciled the intellectual and physical domains, mirroring Wang Yangming's (1475-1529) concept of the unity of knowledge and action.[60] For him, the body

56 This transcending phenomenon stressed by Yamamouichi, too. See Susan J. Napier, "Death and the Emperor: Mishima, Ōe, and the Politics of Betrayal," pp. 73-74; Hisaaki Yamanouchi, "Mishima Yukio and his Suicide," pp. 1-13.

57 In 1947, Japan adopted a new constitution, which included democratic principles, civil rights, and the renunciation of war. Article 9 of the constitution specifically prohibited Japan from maintaining military forces or engaging in warfare, establishing a pacifist stance. See Rankin, *Mishima, Aesthetic Terrorist*, pp. 120-143.

58 Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, p. 86.

59 Albeit ironic, his lying to the army doctor having tuberculosis during the physical examination is an important act considering his later suicide. See Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 75-124; Rankin, *Mishima, Aesthetic Terrorist*, pp. 120-143.

60 Mishima ultimately found a way to reconcile two aspects of his life that had previously seemed antithetical: the world of literature and the world of physical action. He embraced the idea of the union of body and spirit, drawing inspiration from the traditional Japanese integration of literary and martial arts. This approach was also aligned with Wang Yangming's philosophy, often called the "School of the Mind," emphasized that true knowledge was inseparable from action and could be directly accessed through innate, intuitive moral knowledge –liangzhi– which everyone possesses. See the details for Neo-Confucianism in Peter Bol,. *Neo-Confucianism in History*, 1st ed. vol. 307, (Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), pp. 92-193. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1x07w5s; See for the details of Mishima's devotion to the way of the samurai Damian Flanagan, *Mishima*, p. 121; Yukio Mishima, *Way of the Samurai: Yukio Mishima on Hagakure in Modern Times*, pp. 3-11; Dick

is the site of consciousness through pain.

> *"Pain, I came to feel, might well prove to be the sole proof of the persistence of consciousness within the flesh, the sole physical expression of consciousness. As my body acquired muscle, and in turn strength, there was gradually born within me a tendency towards the positive acceptance of pain, and my interest in physical suffering deepened… My day had been full to the brim of the body and of action……They had never come to resemble each other. Never had I discovered in physical action anything resembling the chilling, terrifying satisfaction afforded by intellectual adventure. Nor had I ever experienced intellectual adventure in the selfless heat, the hot darkness of physical action"*[61]

Furthermore, the influence of Wang Yangming school is evident in Mishima's thoughts on *the* Hagakure, while he addresses the problems of modernity, he excessively stresses the notion of 'the man of action', who, according to Mishima, is in charge of the rejuvenation of the Japanese spirit by accepting the meaning of 'death'.

> *"…as a philosophy of action, Hagakure values subjectivity, considers action to be the function of subjectivity and makes death the conclusion of action… if your name means nothing to the world, whether live or die, it is better to live… when we work thinking that we may die today our job suddenly becomes radiant with life and meaning…"*[62]

For Mishima, the motivation for action is death, whose meaning is constantly neglected as the means of a healthy life are improved in modern society. Moreover, for him, the politicians seeking a balanced order in the country are "boring"; this was explicitly stated by him in *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai* as follows:

> *"…we live in an era of truly hazy and vague life. Besides car accidents we hardly ever die. Medication is widely available, and we have completely evaded*

Wagenaar and Yoshio Iwamoto, "Yukio Mishima: Dialectics of Mind and Body," *Contemporary Literature*, vol. 16, No. 1 (University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), pp. 41-60. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1207783

61 Mishima, *Sun and Steel: His Personal Testament on Art, Action, and Ritual Death*, trans. John Bester, (Kodanslia International, 1990), pp. 36-86.

62 Mishima, *Way of the Samurai*, pp. 21-29; 39.

> *tuberculosis, which once threatened sickly youths, and Conscription, which threatened healthy youths. And in a place without the danger of death, it is unavoidable that actions to prove one's life become on one hand an almost mad quest for sex, and on the other hand political action for the sake of mere violence… The image of the politician who pragmatically preserves order has become a symbol of the utterly unappealing, drab, and boring establishment…"*[63]

The most striking parts in *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai* are his thoughts on the relations between nihilism, art, and political life. By referencing Nazi Germany, he discussed the reasons such as poverty and economic fluctuations for the rise of the Nazis and their connections with the nihilist art. According to him, the Nazis rose to power with a social basis alongside dissatisfaction with art and this nihilist art became a global phenomenon. The important connection here is that he found a way that art manifests reality due to its imaginative/fictional nature does not remove the responsibility of the act.

> *"It is said that Nazism was a nihilist revolution, but it was not born merely of the psychological dissatisfaction and nihilism of the intellectual middle class. There was in reality economic breakdown and a massive group of the unemployed…… Just as the Nazi revolution was called a nihilist revolution, there was no lack of the tendency to, dissatisfied with art, transfer what should properly be sought in art to the world of real action, project the restlessness of life onto social unrest, artificially produce verification of life through contact with death, and to seek to prove it through combative action. Such artificial political acts have not now stopped in Nazi Germany, but have become a global trend…. the transformation of art into politics and the transformation of politics into art…. although even if one kills one million people in art it is merely killing on paper, once one enters real action, the killing of one million people becomes an inexpungable historical sin"*[64]

In the following passages, Mishima's vision of the modern world and the mission he endured until very late are apparent. He envisions himself as a politically responsible person who takes action by breaking the borders of art

63 Mishima, *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai*, pp. 5-8.
64 Mishima, *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai*, pp. 8.

to real life thereby becoming unforgettable. He gives the example of students' protests and their arrests without a great impact on society.[65]

> *"… all life has transformed into fiction, all society has transformed into a theatre, all the masses have transformed into television spectators, and that what is performed there is ultimately the transformation of art into politics and does not attain the true gravity of fact, of responsibility… An incident that occurred on January 18-19, 1969, when students belonging to the New Left and the All-Campus Joint Struggle Committees occupied Yasuda Auditorium and were subsequently defeated by the riot police…. In the words of a certain Briton, it was a colossal theatre. The actors who appeared there wrote wills, and graffiti that said 'We're gonna die in style,'. And it was as if they showed a pose of death, but not one of them died or was arrested. Then that act ended, and people forgot the play and returned to their daily lives."*[66]

As these two cited books were published after the 1960s and his first movie, *Patriotism* (*Yukōku*), was released in 1965, we could assume that his political and artistic lines came close, so much that the space in between was almost blurred.[67] He wrote, produced, played, and directed Patriotism, in which he performed the main character's seppuku. Even in 1969, Mishima again practiced seppuku in his later work *the Sea of Fertility* (*Hōjō no Umi*, 1969) and the movie, *Samurai Assassin* (*Hitogiri,* 1969). According to Yuji Sone,

65 He describe the situation: "The struggle for Tokyo University's Yasuda Auditorium gathered numerous spectators. People turned eyes tired of television dramas to television tubes and forgot the passage of time. In the words of a certain Briton, it was a colossal theatre. The actors who appeared there wrote wills, graffiti that said "we're gonna die in style," and it was as if they showed a pose of death, but not a one of them died, all of them put up their hands and were arrested. Then that act ended, and people forgot the play and returned to their daily lives". Thereafter, Mishima continues by giving the last example of suicide committed by "Shortly afterward, on February 11, National Foundation Day, one young man committed suicide by self-immolation, not in front of the television, and not in front of spectators, but in the shadows of a dark construction site. There were truly a grave fact and responsibility there. What art cannot match no matter what it does are political actions like this suicide by self-immolation. When political acts fall short of this, art can forever boast of its independence and authority. I am one who read the most harsh criticism of politics as a dream or as art into the "seriousness" of the young man Etō Kosaburō who committed this suicide by self-immolation", see Mishima, *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai*, pp. 9-10.

66 Mishima, *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai*, pp. 9-10.

67 Mishima's After the Banquet (1960) is a good example for that; besides his aesthetic measures disseminated into his political writings, his sarcastic critic for Hachiro Arita, former Foreign Minister, was also conveyed. Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, p. 129.

contrary to other Japanese writers who have taken their lives like Dazai, Akatugawa, Arishima, and Kitamura, Mishima reversed the intersections between Japanese culture and his ideal eroticism of death.[68] The reason for this metamorphosis is after the publishment of *the Temple of the Golden Pavilion* (1956), his difficulties at writing well-received works became challenging, especially for Stokes; among those the failure of the *Kyōto no le* (Kyōto's house, 1959) affected him profoundly. Simultaneously, the selling rate dropped to 20.000-30.000 in the 1960s from 200.000 in the 1950s. Since the mid-1960s Mishima began to re-direct his trajectory "to make a plan for the rest of my life".[69]

4. Discourse Analysis of Yukio Mishima's Seppuku Speech: A Theatrical Farewell[70]

Through the late 1960s, Mishima began to plan his death while his body was still beautiful. In 1968, after handing over the Sea of Fertility, he established Tatenokai (The Shield Society). According to Ushijima, as he practiced his death by Patriotism, Mishima broke into "the realm of a writer" and entered the site of action.[71]

In November 1970, the action began with a failed coup d'etat; Mishima, with his four disciples from Tatenokai (Morita, Ogawa, Chibi-Koga, and Furu Koga), entered the room of General Mishita, who served in the Pacific War. They distrained on Mishita and forced him to command Jietai[72] garrisons to summon at Eastern Army Headquarters. With his headband, *hachimaki*, on which written *Shichisho Hōkoku* ("Serve the Nation for Seven Lives"), Mishima began to give his speech on the balcony after his disciples scattered the pages

68 Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, Part Three 1964-70; Sone, "Beyond Performance: Yukio Mishima's Theatre of Death," p. 33.

69 Stokes states that Mishima may be felt the sense of failure after the series of unsuccessful attempts such as Tōzoku (Robbers 1948), *Mashin Reihai* (Worship of Evil), *Kyōko no le* (Kyōko's House, 1959) until *The Seas of Fertility*. See Henry Scott Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 98-138; 294-295.

70 I have been influenced by Yuji Sone's article on Mishima's seppuku in the scope of performance arts. See for detail Sone, "Beyond performance Yukio Mishima's theatre of death".

71 Ushijima, "The Narcissism and Death of Yukio Mishima: From the Object Relational Point of View," p. 622.

72 Japanese self-defence forces after the surrender. Mishima and his small army, Tatenokai, were trained by the Jietai army on Mt. Fuji. See Stokes, pp. 210-217.

of his *gekibun,* a manifesto that has similar content to his speech. During the speech, Mishima tried to shout down the hooting crowd.[73]

The speech begins with the phrase "it is a wretched affair " which condenses Mishima's sentimental situation. The same gaze is continued by the main themes of the speech, the post-war peace constitution, the loss of the Japanese spirit, bushidō, Jietai's betrayal, the October 21 anti-war demonstration in Shinjuku in 1969, and the greediness of Japanese politicians and civilians. To more clearly analyze, in line with the structure of CDA, I have divided Mishima's seppuku speech into three parts: Introduction, body, and conclusion. Because of the constant repetitions like "listen to me!", "hear me out!", "you are unconstitutional", "to protect Japan", and "Why don't you understand?" I will cite portions of the speech to analyse the main content.

Introduction of the speech:

> *"It is a wretched affair, to have to speak to Jieitai men in circumstances like these. I thought, that the Jieitai was the last hope of Nippon, the last stronghold of the Japanese soul. But... Japanese people today think of most money, just money. where is our national spirit today? The politicians care nothing for Japan. They are greedy for power. The Jieitai must be the soul of Nippon. But.... we were betrayed by the Jieitai! We thought that the Jieitai was the soul of national honor! The nation has no spiritual foundation."*

Body of the speech:

> *"What happened last year? On October 21? There was a demonstration, an anti-war demonstration in Shinjuku. And the police put it down. The police! after that there will be no chance to amend the Constitution. So, the Jiminto (the Liberal Democratic Party), the politicians, decided that they could use the police. The government did not use the Jieitai. The Armed Forces stayed in their barracks.*
>
> *The Constitution is fixed forever. Do you understand? Listen! Since last October 21, it is you who protect the Constitution. The Jieitai defends the Constitution. There will be no chance to amend it. Not for twenty years! Think about October 21 last year! Since that time, I have waited for the Jieitai to act!*

73 Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 12-28.

When would the Jieitai come to its senses? There will be no further chance to revise the Constitution! The Jieitai will never become an army! It has no foundation, no center! The Jieitai must rise. Why? To protect Japan! Japanese tradition! Our history! Our culture! The Emperor!"

Conclusion of the speech:

"A man appeals to you![74] I am staking my life on this! Do you follow me? if the Jieitai will not rise, the Constitution will never be amended! You will just be American mercenaries![75] American troops! I have waited for four years! I wanted the Jietai to rise! I have come to the last thirty minutes... Are you bushi? Are you men? You are soldiers! You back the Constitution that denies your very existence! Then you have no future! You will never be saved! The Constitution will remain forever. You are finished! You are unconstitutional! The Jieitai is unconstitutional! Don't you understand that it is you who defend the constitution? Why don't you wake up? There you are in your tiny world. You do nothing for Nippon! Will any of you rise with me?[76] Have you studied Bu (the warrior ethic)? Do you understand the way of the sword? What does the sword mean to a Japanese?... Are you men? Are you bushi? I see that you are not. You will not rise. You will do nothing! The Constitution means nothing to you. You are not interested. I have lost my dream of Jieitai! I salute the emperor! Tenno Heika Banzai! Tenno Heika Banzai!"[77]

When I apply Van Dijk's CDA to Mishima's seppuku speech, considering his psycho-social circumstances, I listed them in explicit categories as textual

74 As Andrew Smith analyses this phrase: "A man alone is appealing you" (Ottoko ippiki) literally means "a lone wolf in the wilderness"; it is a connotation of bushidō, "an existential context for conceiving death", which constructs Mishima's identity. See Smith, "Mishima's seppuku speech," pp. 6-8.

75 This relativistic meaning is also give a clue to contemplate on Mishima's "Japanese-ness", after the surrender, under the American hegemony, Mishima's binary constructivist naming was split in two poles: 1-Japanese (us), 2-American (them).

76 As Smith also states, "rising up" (tachi agaru), verbal phrase must be understood in the same line with 21 October anti-war demonstrations, as Jietai could not take advantage of this 'chaos' by committing coup d'etat and ceasing of the Peace Constitution. The rising also directly linked to death and self-sacrfice for cultural salvation. See Smith, "Mishima's seppuku speech," pp. 6-8.

77 I have extracted the speech from diverse sources, after checking the translations. See Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima*, pp. 25-29; Tony Wilson, "Yukio Mishima: 'It Is a Wretched Affair', Coup Attempt-1970." Speakola, (December 10, 2020). https://speakola.com/political/yukio-mishima-coup-attempt-suicide-1970?rq=yukio%20mishima; Smith, "Mishima's seppuku speech"

structure (micro, macro, and superstructures), social cognition, and social context. My findings are as follows:

4.1. Textual analysis of Mishima's seppuku speech

Textual analysis in CDA evaluates the general conduct of the speech such as the overall thematic constructions, bodily parts of the speech, linguistic characteristics like lexical choices, and sentence structure.

Macrostructure: A plea for restoring Japan's traditional values, the emperor system, and the nation's honor are the main themes addressed in this ideological message. The loss of Japan's spiritual and national essence after World War II, and critiques of the "impotence " of post-war Japanese society are addressed and the overall goal is to make a statement on nationalism, honor, and disillusionment with Japan's Westernized direction.

Superstructure (Introduction, Body, and Conclusion): Mishima begins by addressing the soldiers, emphasizing his loyalty to Japan and its emperor, and presenting his act as a personal and patriotic one. Then, he moves into a critique of the current state of Japan and expresses his desire for the restoration of traditional Japanese values. He argues that the emperor has lost his central role in modern Japan and that it is necessary to regain this role to revive the nation's true spirit. Mishima concludes by stating that his death will serve as a symbol and wake-up call for Japan, hoping it will inspire others to take action. He commits seppuku as the ultimate act of devotion to his cause.

Microstructure (Linguistic features and discourse strategies): This subcategory of the CDA is also branching out, I paid careful attention to every layer of the microstructure. I first explain semantics, syntax, and style; then, continue by explaining the rhetoric minor category to observe the argumentative structure of Mishima's seppuku speech.

1- **Semantics (meaning):** Mishima uses specific powerful and loaded lexical sources to convey deep emotional intensity. Words like "spirit", "tradition", "bushi", and "emperor" carry significant ideological weight in both his discourse and Japanese society. His use of these words emphasizes his attachment to traditional values and the perceived degradation of the nation's soul.

2- **Syntax and style:** Mishima's speech is often informal (the usage of the first and second personal pronouns), poetic, and sometimes archaic. The constant repetitions such as "Are you men? Are you bushi?", "You are unconstitutional." and "to protect Japan" give the structure of his sentences and the rhythm of his delivery dramatic weight. This choice of style evokes a sense of dignity and gravity, reflecting the seriousness of the act he is about to perform.
3- **Rhetoric (argumentation techniques):** Mishima employs several rhetorical devices such as validating his reliability (*ethos*), sentimental explosion (*pathos*), and dialectical discrimination against the "other" (ethical contrast), in his speech, these are the American mercenaries.[78]

Appeal to ethos: By invoking his honor and devotion to Japan, Mishima creates credibility and aligns himself with the ideal of samurai honor and sacrifice.

Pathos (emotional appeal): The speech is designed to stir emotions, creating a sense of urgency and a call to action for those who still care about Japan's future. His emotional plea is central to the effectiveness of his speech.

Ethical contrast (us vs. them): Mishima contrasts the "traditional" Japan, represented by the emperor, with the "modern" Japan, which he believes has been corrupted by Western influences. In the body part of the speech, he renounces: "You will just be American mercenaries! American troops !" This dualism strengthens his critique of post-war Japan and his position as a modern samurai.

4.2. Social Cognition (Mental Representations and Shared Knowledge) and Social Context (External Factors and Power Structures)

Social cognition refers to how individuals, namely audiences, process, understand, and interpret discourse, shaped by their mental representations,

78 Charteris-Black introduces several politicians speeches to illustrate the rhetorical techniques, the speaker to compromise audiences' expectation introduce himself trustworthy (ethos), rectify his argument with a reason (pathos), and emotional appeal (pathos). See Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor*, 2nd edition, (Palgrave, 2018), pp. 8-18.

backgrounds, and ideologies. Mishima's audience, *Jietai* men, was likely familiar with the post-war political context in Japan and the rupture in the mentality formation between modernists and traditionalists, or somehow reactionists since the end of WW2. His use of specific references like bushidō, the emperor, and the state of Japan would resonate with those who know his ideological perspective. Therefore, Mishima in a way, reflects his vision of modern Japan by embodying himself as a mental representation of Japan, a country in spiritual decline, and his speech is designed to communicate this worldview. His declaration to commit seppuku in front of soldiers further reinforces this representation, as it appeals to notions of bodily sacrifice and national identity.

Finally, social context refers to the larger social, political, and cultural factors that shape discourse. Mishima's speech must be understood in the post-war period of Japan, particularly after World War II when Japan was undergoing rapid recovery under the influence of the U.S.. Mishima, as a nationalist and critic of Japan's post-war identity, believed that Japan was losing its soul and its connection to traditional values. The act of seppuku itself is deeply symbolic in Japanese culture, and historically associated with honor, loyalty, and sacrifice. By choosing this method of protest, as Smith also suggests, Mishima aligns himself with the samurai tradition and signals his commitment to his ideals.[79]

4.3. Evaluation of Findings: Selections from Hagakure

Mishima's seppuku speech conveys his deep dissatisfaction with post-war Japan, his vision of a resurgent Japanese spirit, and his commitment to the ancient Samurai values of Bushido. Mishima's lexical choices and constant repetitions in this speech are laced with references to Japan's lost imperial glory and the rapid 'Westernization' that he believed had corrupted the country ("Japanese people today think of most money, just money. Where is our national spirit today?"). He denounces the Japanese government, particularly the decision to maintain the post-war constitution imposed by the Allied forces, which he sees as symbolizing Japan's emasculation ("A man appealing to you! Are you men?

79 Andrew Smith states Mishima aligns himself with the divine nature of Japan. See Smith, "Mishima's seppuku speech," p. 13.

Are you Bu?"). In these sentences, Mishima overtly showcases the gender role, which takes action, in the salvation of Japan.

Moreover, Mishima's criticism of modernity is not merely political but also cultural and existential (You back the Constitution that denies your very existence!). In his view, Japan's moral, spiritual, and martial identity was being distorted by the forces of materialism and individualism, typical of the West.

Having expressed his desperation and hopelessness ("Are you men? Are you bushi? I see that you are not. You will not rise. You will do nothing! The constitution means nothing to you. You are not interested. I have lost my dream of Jieitai !"), he concludes his speech saluting the emperor (I salute the emperor! Tenno Heika Banzai! Tenno Heika Banzai !). The emperor whom he salutes is not directly tied to the emperor of Japan in 1970, however. The emperor is a symbol of 'Japanese-ness'. Susan Napier[80] and later Rodica Frentiu[81] explore the emperor as a symbol of the ultimate "*Other*," an object of desire that is based on the individual's perspective but remains distinct from the reality of modern Japan. As Mishima's *Ideal-I*[82] was intricately tied to a pre-modern vision of Japan, which he believed embodied purity, strength, and honor, he utilized the emperor as a potent cultural image, both a human figure and a mythical, poetic entity, with the being disconnected from the entity of any reigning emperor, to reflect what Japan had lost in the modern times. This dual conception of the emperor played a central role in Mishima's ideological framework. To reify these, I will cite passages from *Way of the Samurai* (1967), Mishima's Hagakure revision, to elaborate on his ideological stance and reveal his hidden intentions and motivations for suicide.

> *"…when ideal seems attainable he becomes bored with it… during the war, the death impulse was 100% liberated but the impulse for resistance and freedom*

80 Napier, "Death and the Emperor: Mishima, Ōe, and the Politics of Betrayal," pp. 72-86.

81 Frentiu also cites Napier's thoughts on the symbol of the emperor to elaborate on Mishima's desire of recognition. Rodica Frentiu, "Yukio Mishima," pp. 69-90.

82 Lacan's theory suggest that Es (the subject) constructs its self-identity, Moi (ego or I) by recognizing the auter (other) in the Mirror Stage, in which the infant first recognizes itself as a unified image in a mirror (it does not have to be an 'actual' mirror, seeing the father or mother first is a mirror for the child, too). This moment of recognition is foundational for the development of the Ideal-I (imaginary stage of the ego formation), an image of the self that is coherent, whole, and idealized but yet imaginary, therefore, fictional and unstable. See Elizabeth Grosz, *Feminist Bir Giriş*, pp. 62-126; Jacques Lacan, *Baba-Nın-Adları*, pp. 24-51.

for life was completely suppressed… "

"…we are constantly exposed to the danger that the death drive suppressed within modern youth will explode …"

"… the function of turning the eyes of modern man toward the brightness of freedom and progress, pushing it deeper and deeper into the subconscious, turning it into a more dangerous, explosive, and concentrated…"

"…wish to live horribly and die horribly one choosing a beautiful way of life…"

"Life and death is like Yin and Yang"[83]

In these passages, he showcases his 'ideal' vision of identity, who becomes bored and insatiable with modernity and seeks to fulfill his 'death impulse'. This death drive, as stated in *Lectures,*[84] must be proceeded by taking action, or for him 'responsibility'. Mishima's attachment to the samurai code and refusal of modernity can be understood by Erich Fromm's idea of the "escape from freedom".[85] Fromm suggested that modern individuals, overwhelmed by freedom and the absence of traditional authority structures, often seek out authoritarian figures or systems as a way to restore order and meaning to their lives. This desire for structure, order, and certainty was mirrored in Mishima's political views, his attachment to Bushidō, and his yearning for Japan to return to its imperial past.[86] His commitment to a strong, hierarchical vision of society, free from the confusion and ambiguity of modern life, is evident in his seppuku speech, in which he declared that post-war Japan had lost its sincere warrior 'soul '. Mishima's aim is the ultimate act of authoritarian resolution- a rejection of a fragmented, post-modern Japan in favor of a return to a more 'fixed and structured' cultural order.

83 Mishima, *Way of the Samurai*, pp. 22-29.

84 Mishima, *Lectures on the Mind for Young Samurai*, pp. 8-10.

85 Fromm, *1900-1980, Escape From Freedom*, New York, Rinehart, 1941; Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. (Fawcett Crest Book, 1973). https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=hw2NAAAAMAAJ.

86 This vision of an authoritarian structure collapsed after the surrender, and his suicide in Lacanian understanding is seen as an emancipation of the ego from the collapsed authority and order, a most sincere enactment of the exigence. See *Marx: İntihar Üzerine* (*Marx: On Suicide*), ed. and trans. Barış Çoban and Zeynep Özarslan, (Yenihayat Kütüphanesi, Mayıs 2006), p. 64.

Along the same lines, Lacan's concept of the *Real*, the part of reality that is inaccessible through language and always eludes the symbolic order,[87] can be applied to Mishima's death as a 'return' to the *Real*.[88] Mishima's act of seppuku, which transcends the realm of ordinary language and understanding, represents his final attempt to reconcile his internal fragmentation and the disillusionment he felt with the current state of Japan. In Lacanian terms, this suicide act is an attempt to return to an unattainable 'wholeness', but through the destruction of the self, symbolically restoring order in a world he believed was falling apart.[89] To elaborate on this self-destruction, we could draw our perception on Sigmund Freud's trilogy (*Superego*, *Ego*, and *Id*),[90] and the mechanism of the 'death instinct' (*Thanatos*), which occurs as an overwhelmed outcome of the *ego*'s dependency on an object. The process of self-injury or suicide, according to Freud, is tied to being conscious of the loss of the desired object in reminiscence of the past. This process is enhanced by the Superego, in which the pain of losing an object inflicts into and dominates the *Ego* by putting pressure. Eventually, the Ego kills itself for relief from the feeling of losing the object. In this trilogy scheme, the *Superego* is in charge of punishment, whereas the *Ego* is taking action, killing; and the *Id* is the source of the "death instinct".[91]

As we conceptualized the dynamics of self-destruction, one further can ask how Mishima internalized self-destruction, or more appropriately self-sacrifice, in the samurai code. From an Adlerian perspective, Mishima's

87 Grosz, *Feminist Bir Giriş*, 62-126.

88 Mishima in way of the samurai, stated his awareness of the unsatisfying nature of reaching the 'ideal' self. Therefore, he tries to reconcile the real. See Mishima, *Way of the Samurai*, pp. 22-29.

89 According to Nayla Chidiac, Mishima's seppuku is a self-construction within the realm of socio-cultural contexts. See Chidiac, *Mishima: Writer of Body, Life and Death*, p. 6.

90 Mikhailova, *Suicide in Psychoanalysis, Psychoanalytic Social Work*, 12:2, 19-45, 2006, pp. 20-22.

91 The ego is dependent on an object or another ego as an object to survive, and when these attachments become so dense, the ego becomes overwhelmed by the uncontrollable exterior forces. The superego triggers the ego not to bind something strong by promoting the social values and obligations of the outside world. This pressure of the superego embodies the enormous sense of sin, which the ego thinks has to abate or dismiss. Therefore, the Ego responds to the Superego by usurping the attached object. In so radical cases, taking one's own life to get rid of the object. In this sense, Freud suggests the term "sadism" to describe the motivations of the "sadistic" Superego, which drug the "masochist" Ego into death, and in this frame, the death instinct that exists in the Id occurs with the assistance of love and libido, as the last scene of the suicide: death. See Olga Mikhailova, *Suicide in Psychoanalysis*, 20-24; Mark J. Goldblatt, *Psychodynamics of Suicide, The Oxford Handbook of Suicide and Self-Injury*, ed. Matthew K. Nock, (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 256-257.

extreme actions and obsession with his physical perfection can be understood as a compensatory mechanism for feelings of inferiority. Adler theorized that individuals who feel inadequate or weak compensate for these feelings by pursuing idealized goals or embodying qualities they believe they lack.[92] Mishima, often concerned with physicality, beauty, and strength, constructed a public image of himself as a martial ideal and manhood. As Yamamoto and Iga point out,[93] due to his 'introspective' childhood under his grandmother's rigid discipline, he might have felt a need compensating for personal vulnerabilities. This view is phallocentric, and demonstrates the Oedipus syndrome.[94] However, despite their contradictions, they posit Mishima's seppuku as the ultimate compensatory gesture of manhood, an attempt to reconcile with his ideal and real self, which we can read this notion in the Adlerian sense.[95]

5. Conclusion

As Mishima's life and work were often constructed around death, violence, and eternity, indicating a dense connection with his obsession with bodily beauty, I assume that the poetic nuance in his seppuku speech reflects both his literary biases (nostalgic romanticism) and gender identity crisis in line with the changing socio-cultural atmosphere of Japan. Through becoming a hawkish nationalist, mostly after the mid-1950s and fully ripening in the 1960s, he found a way to consolidate inner conflicts with the outer world by wearing a 'mask',[96] which serves a greater thing, something transcendental

92 Adler, *Anlamak* (*Understanding Human Nature*), trans. Deniz Başkaya, (Lilith Yayıncılık, 2018), pp. 84-92.

93 Yamamoto and Iga, *Japanese Suicide: Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima*, p. 182.

94 This is not solely my evaluation, Jerry S. Piven, an American psychologist also discusses Mishima's early childhood and his later political stance. See Jerry Piven, "Phallic Narcissism, Anal Sadism, and Oral Discord"; Kazuyoshi Kawasaka, "Mishima Yukio and the Homoeroticisation of the Emperor of Japan" p. 3.

95 They acclaimed that Mishima was raised like a girl; therefore, in the later years, especially when he attended his peers' school, he had to masquerade his "femininity" because of "guilt." However, in the same article, they also put forward that Mishima's suicide was not "superego-related." There is a contradiction there: If he veiled his gender identity in a culturally patriarchal society, how his suicide cannot be related to the superego? See Yamamoto and Iga, *Japanese Suicide*, pp. 181-184.

96 Damian Flanagan suggests a similar evaluation on his suicide motivation: "There seem to be so many overlapping motivations concerning the events of the final day that any attempted portrait

that can suppress his existentialist struggles: Being a warrior of the Japanese spirit.[97]

Besides being free from anxieties by committing seppuku, Mishima's death also must be beautiful and unforgettable,[98] and validate his gender identity to fulfill his inner conflicts. I emphasize 'gender identity' because there is a masculine likening[99] in his discourse ("You are soldiers! Are you men ?") as he practiced for years on manhood by performing martial activities, which unite his binary oppositions[100] like spirit versus body, beauty versus violence, and honor versus decadence. One of the most important elements of Mishima's seppuku speech and act is the central role of the body. Mishima viewed the body as a site of both beauty and violence, and his commitment to physical fitness and the aesthetic of the body was crucial to his identity. His speech can be interpreted as a way to elevate the body's final act of death as both a philosophical and physical assertion of power. His invocation of samurai culture is central to his rhetorical scheme.

The samurai code, with its emphasis on honor, loyalty, and sacrifice, offers Mishima a Lacanian *symbolic* structure, in which he expresses his dissatisfaction with Japan's loss of these traditional values and a sentiment of melancholy to return to the roots. With his ultimate act of seppuku, he restored his ideal self by reversing Japan's fragmented 'self' to re-exalt

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of the truth appears differently depending on the angle from which it is approached. Is the Mishima Incident (as it is generally known) really best considered at face value as a politically inspired protest? Was it not also the case that Mishima had fantasized erotically since being a young boy about pain and death, about the gloriousdeaths of soldiers? Was the Day of Death, then, a political mask that hid the orgasmic climax to a life of sadomasochistic fantasies?." See Flanagan, *Yukio Mishima*, p. 13.

97 Frentiu, "Yukio Mishima," p. 70.

98 According to Nayla Chidiac, Mishima's seppuku is a 'construction of self' leaving enduring legacy and this idea is coherent with Mishima's later works on Hagakure and the leassons for young samurai, where he expresses his thoughts on the style of death, how this death must be projected in line with cultural references. See Chidiac, *Mishima: Writer of Body, Life and Death*, p. 5; Mishima, *Lectures for the Young Samurai*; Mishima, *Way of the Samurai*.

99 I am not suggesting an oversimplified insight; instead, his thoughts on women and men in the Way of the Samurai are rather traditional; pre-modern gender roles are prominent in the scent of the work. He stresses the gender distinction: while men engage in physical projects, women do house chores. Mishima, Way of the Samurai, "The Feminization of the Male", pp. 18-19.

100 This dialectical positioning, as Yamamouchi states, is visible in Mishima's whole life, which is split into two spectrums: spirit and body; action and word; artistic inspiration and commitment. See Hisaaki Yamanouchi, "Mishima Yukio and his Suicide," *Modern Asian Studies*, 6, (1972) p. 3. Doi:10.1017/S0026749X00000287

Japan's soul. Therefore, Mishima's speech operates not just as a farewell but as an orchestrated performance, in which he operates his ideal existence.

Considering his seppuku speech, I believe that his seppuku's propulsive impulse was neither financial nor physical health hardships, but more a personal choice[101] of his artistic and existential demands, which manifest themselves in the romanticism of the cultural norms like the samurai style of suicide. As the current literature is keen to approve, his post-war years blending with his obsessions- glamorous death, body, action, and beauty-lasted to achieve his full potential as an action of man. Even though I cannot discuss his grandmother's role in his identity crisis (as there are diverse influences on his life and his works are reconstructive attempts to conceal and unveil his identity), I believe his aspirations, which helped shape his worldview, came from his childhood. His childhood exposure to kabuki theater, samurai heritage, and the ideals of beauty and aesthetics, which were largely introduced to him by his grandmother, played a formative role in shaping Mishima's vision of himself and the world around him. Ultimately, it was this blend of familial, cultural, and personal influences that helped fuel his existential struggle and the dramatic, self-constructed narrative that culminated in his tragic end in the form of societal dis-illusional re-enchantment.[102]

101 On whether Mishima's suicide is a personal or an altruistic attempt see Edward Seidensticker, "Mishima Yukio," *The Hudson Review*, vol. 24, No. 2 (Summer, 1971), pp. 272-282; Luke Scherer, "Seppuku: Motivations for Ritualist Suicide," *The Hanover Historical Review*, vol. 19, (2024): 71-81

102 Max Weber elucidates the disenchantment from mythological and transcendental entities in the modern secular world. This process is characterized by emptiness and loss of direction. In Mishima's case, his suicide is an attempt at re-enchantment, restoring the Japanese soul. See Joseph W. Lough, "Weber and the Persistence of Religion: Social Theory, Capitalism, and the Sublime", in Ann Brooks (ed.), *Social theory in contemporary Asia*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011): pp. xi-17; 32-57; 85-106.

Figure 1. Mishima in his movie, Patriotism, in 1995.*

* In the background, the written phrase 至誠 (Shisei) be translated word-by-word ``arrival" (shi) and "truth``(sei). The literally translation is "utmost sincerity".

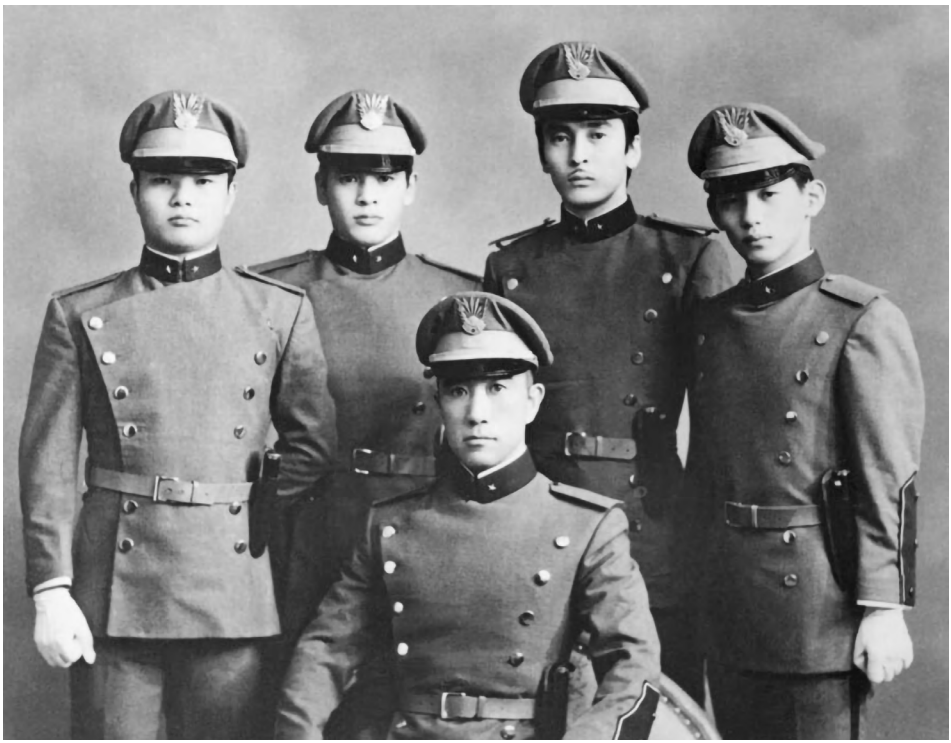

Figure 2. Mishima with his four followers from Tatenokai.

Figure 3. Mishima while giving his seppuku speech on the ledge of the parapet.

French authorities there. They have been identified as East Berlin mechanics, aged 19 and 24.

Called to Ministry

According to the Polish government press agency PAP, the French Embassy official was called to the Foreign Ministry and handed the note.

PAP said the contents of the note were also conveyed to representatives of the American, Soviet and British Embassies in Warsaw.

Under a postwar arrangement, Berlin is still an occupied city.

hall of the 4th Arrondissement of Paris, officials announced.

Prince Karim's secretary said only the civil ceremony was performed today and that the couple would be married again in a religious ceremony next Tuesday, as previously announced.

Today's ceremony was "merely a formality," he said.

Prince Karim, 32, spiritual leader of 15 million Ismaili Moslems, announced his engagement to the British divorcee two weeks ago.

The bride, 29, a former fashion model was divorced two years ago from Lord James Crichton-Stuart.

French authorities in Berlin today protested to the Russians against the buzzing by two Soviet-made MiG fighters of the Polish airliner as it landed in West Berlin.

The French said the MiGs were guilty of "dangerous flying," had "endangered human lives" and had intruded into West Berlin air space without prior notice.

The MiGs repeatedly buzzed the plane in an attempt to prevent the landing, forcing the pilot to make two approaches before touching down. Eyewitnesses said the fighters circled the airliner at an altitude of less than 200 feet.

70,000 Police Battle Students

Tokyo Paralyzed by Rioters Protesting Treaty With U.S.

By Philip Shabecoff

TOKYO, Oct. 21 (NYT).—Bands of students virtually paralyzed Tokyo today as they roamed the streets hurling gasoline bombs and smashing windows in observance of International Anti-War Day.

Similar violence broke out in nearly 100 other Japanese cities.

Trade unionists, Communists and left-wing political groups assembled at nearly 800 rallies in different parts of the country to demand the abrogation of the Japan-United States security treaty and the immediate return of Okinawa to Japan.

Some 70,000 riot police—25,000 of them in Tokyo—attempted to control the demonstrations, and by midevening nearly 1,100 students had been arrested in Tokyo alone.

In contrast to past demonstrations, when helmeted students bearing brilliantly-colored banners and armed with staves marched in columns against pre-announced targets and engaged police in mass battles, the students today used hit-and-run "guerrilla" tactics. Small or medium-sized bands of students swooped down on their target, hurled Molotov cocktails and tried to escape before the police could arrive.

Police sought to combat the tactics with a special mobile force of 3,000 men trained to move swiftly to the scene of attack and cut off the terrorist bands.

Shinjuku station, Tokyo's busiest railroad stop, once again was a chief target of the student radicals, but unlike last year's anti-war day, when the station was occupied and sacked, police were able to keep the students away.

Instead, a series of pitched battles between police and guerrillas broke out in side streets leading to the station.

In other raids, the students attacked police boxes, briefly occupied a studio of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, rioted in Tokyo's main outdoor food market and attempted to ransack the Tokyo Industry Club.

Air police at the American-run Tachikawa air force base on the outskirts of Tokyo arrested a 24-year-old youth attempting to blow up a C-13 cargo plane.

Suspected targets of the student radicals, including the Self-Defense Agency, the Diet (parliament) building, the premier's official residence and the American Embassy, were heavily guarded by large police detachments and armored vans.

At the main anti-war rally in Tokyo's Yoyogi Park, near the Olympic pool, a crowd estimated at 80,000 by the organizers and at 20,000 by police gathered at nightfall under umbrellas and red banners in a heavy rain to listen to anti-American and anti-government speeches.

Toshikatsu Horii, chairman of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions which originated the anti-war-day observance three years ago, described today's events as "the beginning of the general offensive against the security treaty."

The treaty, which obligates the U.S. to defend Japan from aggression and Japan to provide military bases for American forces, is up for its ten-year review in 1970. The government supports automatic continuation of the treaty.

Associated Press.

PEACE DEMONSTRATOR—A leftist Japanese student swings a thick stick into a riot policeman's back during the anti-war demonstrations in Tokyo last night.

Figure 4. A News from the New York Times. ''Shinjuku riot'' (1969).

APPENDIX

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Joint Declaration by USSR–Japan 1956: Kuril Islands Dispute Revised

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Russo–Japanese Relations Until 20th Century: Period of Peace

The ongoing Northern Territorial Dispute between Japan and Russia, which dates back to 1945, remains unresolved. The islands in question are the four islands of the Kuril Islands chain, located north of Japan. The issue of legal ownership over *Shikotan*, *Habomai Islands*, *Kunashiri* and *Etorofu (Iturup)* islands remains unresolved. Japan claims historical and cultural ownership of these four islands. Japan insists that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) occupied the Kuril Islands illegally on August 15, 1945, following the acceptance of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, and that the occupied islands should be returned to Japan. The USSR and its successor, the Russian Federation (RF), acknowledge the ongoing demarcation issue, due to its non-participation in the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951. However, they contend that this issue can be resolved through the establishment of a peace treaty between two states.

The Kuril Islands Dispute, which emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War and remains unresolved, marks the latest in a series of border disputes between Russia and Japan. Throughout history, the two states have contested the sovereignty of Kuril Islands and Sakhalin Island, with the islands changing possession multiple times. In 1785, 1786 and 1789, the Japanese explorer *Mogami Tokunai* (1755-1836) and his crew were ordered by the military government to embark on an expedition to the Ainu Lands.

Findings from this expedition were documented in a booklet entitled *Ezo Sōshi*, which was presented to the shogunate. The first documented encounters between Russians and Japanese took place during these missions. The Russians were described as "*Akahito (赤人)*", which translates as "red people". During the Iturup expedition, Mogami encountered three Russians, and was particularly impressed by the geographical knowledge of Kuril and Kamchatka demonstrated by Semyon Dorofeevich Ishuyo *(Ituyosov)*.[1]

The earliest Russian descriptions of the South Kuril Ridge are documented in 1737, 1739 and 1742, as illustrated in the cartography of Russian navigator Martin Spanberg (1696-1761). The Russian colonial authorities embarked on a policy of collecting tribute from the Ainu, the indigenous people of the islands, and seeking to convert them to the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1779, an imperial decree issued by Catherine II (1729-1796) recognized the Ainu as Russian citizens, exempting them from taxation. In 1786, another decree issued by Catherine II ordered measures to be taken to protect the Kuril Islands and for foreigners to be expelled by force if necessary. In the 1796 *Atlas of the Russian Empire* drawn in St. Petersburg, the islands of Iturup, Kunashir and Shikotan were clearly marked as Russian territory.[2]

The Treaty of Shimoda, marking the first diplomatic treaty between Russia and Japan, was signed in 1855. This commercial treaty aimed to consolidate lasting peace and friendship between the two countries, and, according to the terms of the treaty, the ports of Hakodate, Nagasaki and Shimoda were to be opened to limited trade under the supervision of Japanese authorities. This treaty also defined the Russo-Japanese borders. The treaty stipulated the transfer of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands to Japan, while Sakhalin was classified as a demilitarized zone.[3] The Treaty of Shimoda is the document by which the four islands subject to the Northern Territorial Dispute were officially recognized as Japanese territory for the first time. The

1 V. Yu. Klimov, "A Brief List of japanese Writings About the Ainu Lands and Russia Until 1799," *Russian Japanology Review*, vol. 6, no. 1. (2023), p. 92. https://doi.org/10.55105/2658-6444-2023-1-88-100.

2 Streltsov, "The Territorial Issues in Russian-Japanese Relations: An Overview" in *A History of Russo-Japanese Relations: Over Two Centuries of Cooperation and Competition*, ed. Dmitry V. Streltsov and Shimotomai Nobuo (Brill, 2019), pp. 578-579.

3 "The First Diplomatic and Trade Treaty Between Japan and Russia Signed," Presidential Library, accsessed December 29, 2024. https://www.prlib.ru/en/history/619012.

1855 treaty is the starting point on which Japan bases its claim that the islands belong to them historically and culturally. On the other hand, Russia does not deny the transfer of the islands to Japan, but states that the South Kuril Islands historically belonged to Russia. However, the islands were handed over to Japan due to the negative international reaction to the Crimean War (1853-1856). The matter of ownership of Sakhalin Island remained unresolved. Despite the island's demilitarized status, the Shimoda Treaty did not address the issue of ownership. This matter was resolved in 1875.

On 7 May 1875, the Treaty of St. Petersburg was signed in St. Petersburg by Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov (1798-1883) on the behalf of Russia and Enomoto Takeaki (1836-1908) on behalf of Japan. According to the terms of the treaty, Russia gained complete control over Sakhalin Island, the ownership of which had previously been unclear, whilst Japan gained possession of 18 Kuril Islands. The Treaty of St. Petersburg is also referred as the Treaty of Territorial Exchange. The provisions of the 1855 treaty were thus modified by the stipulations of the Treaty of St. Petersburg.[4]

20th Century Conflicts and the Path to the Northern Territory Dispute

The Meiji Revolution (1868) marked a new era in the country's political and socio-economic development. In this new era, governing authority was concentrated in the hands of a small group of members of the aristocrat court. The objective of the new Meiji leaders was to reinforce and enrich the nation, a policy known as *fukoku kyōhei*. Meiji leaders were forced to act in haste, as Western powers were seeking to colonize Japan, as they had done with other Asian nations. Meiji leaders recognized that Japan was comparatively weak in terms of military power and economic development, and further, in terms of political, social, and cultural advancement. The initial objective was to establish a robust foundation for the new government in order to narrow the gap between Japan and the West.[5] In order to achieve this objective, a series of social, economic, military, and constitutional reforms were introduced in Japan. The process of Japanese modernization began, accompanied by

4 "Treaty of 1875 Between Russia and Japan on Territories Exchange," Presidential Library, accsessed December 29, 2024. https://www.prlib.ru/en/history/619225.

5 Hane and Perez, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, 5th ed. (Westview Press, 2013), pp. 83-84.

a notable increase in economic and military power. It is inescapable that a discussion of modernization must include an element of industrialization; thus, it was only natural that Japan took swift and decisive steps towards industrialization. Japan lacked the natural resources necessary to sustain its expanding industrial and military sectors. In light of these circumstances, a colonial foreign policy was pursued in accordance with prevailing conditions of the 19th century.

Japan aimed to reduce China's political influence over Korea. Naturally, China was not pleased with this turn of events, and the two powers were in disagreement regarding Korea. Japan supported Korea becoming an independent nation, but China thought Korea should be a part of China as a tributary. On July 25, 1894, a naval clash occurred off the coast of *Incheon* between Japanese warships and Chinese vessels transporting reinforcements to Korea. On July 29, Japan formally declared war on China. Japan triumphed in the *First Sino-Japanese War* (1894-1895), achieving its initial objective of expanding its empire. In addition to gaining more influence in Korea, Japan also expanded its territory in Taiwan and Liaodong Peninsula. These developments warned other imperialist powers, especially Russia.[6]

Following the Sino-Japanese War, Japan was now an imperialist power, and had a lot of influence in Asia during the early 19th century. In 1902, Japan and Great Britain formed an alliance, and this was a major turning point. It showed that Japan was becoming a major power. In 1903, the Japanese cabinet decided that they needed to protect their national defense by supporting Korea's independence. This showed that Japan also had a lot of interests in that region. In order to achieve this goal, Japan had to acknowledge Russia's interest in Manchuria. This interest was viewed as a threat to Japan's broader goals, and in February 1904, the cabinet decided to declare war. Tokyo believed that the ongoing conflict between the two powers in Korea could only be resolved if one of them conceded. However, Japan was not willing to do so.[7] The Russo-Japanese War, which commenced on February 8, 1904, concluded on September 5, 1905, with the signing of Treaty of Portsmouth. In accordance with Article 9, Sakhalin Island was divided into two by taking

6 Ibid., pp. 163-168.

7 Marius B. Jansen, *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 773-775.

the fiftieth degree of north latitude as the demarcation line, with the area to the south, including the adjacent minor islands, ceded to Japan. Furthermore, the two countries agreed to prohibit military activities on Sakhalin Island. Additionally, La Perouse Strait and Tartary were designated as free navigation zones. Article 12 also stipulates that the 1855 Treaty of Shimoda is no longer legally binding in the context of the armed conflict.[8]

The sequence of events that led to the *October Revolution* of 1917 was triggered by domestic problems within the Russian Empire in the period following the Russo-Japanese War. The Russian Civil War (1917-1922), which would last for five years, began in Russia after the revolution, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed. The civil war was won by the Bolsheviks (meaning 'majority'), and on October 25, 1922, the Russian Civil War ended. The October Revolution also led to the interruption of diplomatic relations between Russia and Japan, which were only normalized on January 20, 1925, with the signing of the USSR-Japan Basic Treaty in Beijing. A significant aspect of the Beijing Treaty was the establishment of a mutual obligation among the states to prevent the presence in their respective territories of any organization or group that claims sovereignty over any territory of the nations parties to the treaty. In view of the fact that the USSR was in a phase of upheaval, with this article, both governments recognized the legitimacy of the sovereign rights of the other.

The treaty also contains 2 protocols related to the Sakhalin Island issue. According to Article 3 of Protocol A, Japan promised to completely demilitarize Sakhalin Island. In addition, all of the ownership of the island will be handed over to the USSR. Protocol B stipulates that the USSR will guarantee Japan a 50% share of natural resources such as oil and coal extracted from Sakhalin Island. In other words, Japan has made a strategically and economically pragmatic move for herself.[9] By giving up all its rights on Sakhalin Island, Japan decided to invest in her developing industry. One can say that this move was logical under the conditions of the period, especially considering

8 Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905, 199 CTS 144, accsessed January 16, 2025. https://opil.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:oht/law-oht-199-CTS-144.regGroup.1/law-oht-199-CTS-144?rskey=sj8uLE&result=2&prd=OHT.

9 "Convention on the Basic Principles of Relations Between USSR and Japan," Presidential Library, accsessed January 10, 2025. https://www.prlib.ru/en/node/337144.

that Japan was and still is quite disadvantaged in terms of natural resources. In fact, one of the reasons for the 1904-05 war was access to natural resources in China and Korea. With the Treaty of Beijing, Japan gained access to natural resources worth a fortune to its industry, won concessions for Japanese companies, and improved its diplomatic relations with Russians. The USSR, on the other hand, secured peace and territorial gains on her eastern borders. It is clear that the treaty had special benefits for both sides.

With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the balance of world politics changed completely. On August 13, 1941, the USSR-Japan Non-Aggression Pact was signed and the two states committed not to become warring parties against each other. However, about 4 months after the pact was signed, on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the U.S. military base of Pearl Harbor, which led the U.S. into World War II. At a time when the USSR and the US were allies, Japan's attack was also a violation of the USSR-Japan Non-Aggression Pact. On November 22, 1943, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) met with Chinese President Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874-1965) in Cairo, Egypt, to discuss the progress of the war against Japan and the future of Asia. Although the focus of the Cairo conference was on China and territories of Chinese interest, the following paragraph in the declaration issued on November 26th appears to be one of the mainstays of Japan's arguments in the postwar territorial issues. According to the declaration:

> *The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan, shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914. . . Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. . .*[10]

According to the 1875 Treaty of St. Petersburg, the Kuril chain legally belonged to Japan, so there should have been no dispute over the ownership of the Kurils in the post-World War II borders. However, a legal problem arises

10 The Cairo Declaration, November 26, 1943, Wilson Center Digital Archive, accsessed January 10, 2025. https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/cairo-declaration.

here: the USSR was not a participant in the Cairo Declaration. However, two days later, on November 28, at the Tehran Conference, Roosevelt agreed to meet Joseph Stalin's (1878-1953) demands for the Kurils and South Sakhalin in exchange for the Soviet declaration of war against Japan.

As World War II drew to a close, the leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union met in Yalta on February 4, 1945. The leaders were confident of an Allied victory in Europe, but Japan had to be stopped if the war was to end in the Pacific. At Yalta, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin discussed the terms under which the Soviets would participate in the Pacific War. The Soviet demands were: recognition of its sphere of influence in Manchuria, a share of the revenues from the Manchurian railroads, a lease on Port Arthur, the southern part of Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands. The Soviet conditions were accepted and the Kuril Islands were to be returned to the Soviet Union in accordance with Article 3 of the "Agreement Regarding Japan" section of the Yalta Conference Agreement, Declaration of a Liberated Europe, issued on February 11, 1945.[11] The lack of a territorial definition of the Kuril Islands in the Yalta Declaration led to further legal loopholes. The Potsdam Declaration, issued on July 26, 1945, was the document that established the terms of Japan's surrender. Article 8 of the Declaration defines the borders of post-war Japan. Article 8 states that:

> *The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out, and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we may determine.*[12]

As clearly stated in the Potsdam Declaration, Hokkaido was recognized as Japan's sovereign territory and all its rights were guaranteed. Hokkaido is particularly important in the context of the Northern Territorial Dispute because the boundaries between the two countries were clearly defined in the Treaty of Shimoda in 1855 and the subsequent Treaty of St. Petersburg

11 Yalta Conference Agreement, Declaration of a Liberated Europe, February 11, 1945, Wilson Center Digital Archive, accsessed January 10, 2025. https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/yalta-conference-agreement-declaration-liberated-europe.

12 "Proclamation by the Heads of Governments, United States, China and the United Kingdom," Office of the Historian, accsessed January 10, 2025. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945Berlinv02/d1382.

in 1875. According to 1875 agreement, Russia gained sovereignty over all of Sakhalin Island, while Japan gained sovereignty over the Kuril Islands north of the Etorofu Strait, which had been under Russian sovereignty. In both treaties, however, there was no dispute over the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Habomai Islands and Shikotan Island. The fact that Japan was the main authority in the region was recognized by both countries. In fact, in the administrative regulations drafted after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the Japanese-dominated Kuril Islands were made an integral part of the prefectural government of Hokkaido, and the Habomai Islands and Shikotan Island became another administrative subdivision of the *Nemuro Shicho*.[13]

General Order No. 1, for the surrender of Japan was prepared by the United States and approved by Harry S. Truman (1884-1972). The document outlined the procedures for Japanese forces to surrender and specified the designated locations for such surrender. It underwent several revisions. For instance, the version issued on August 11, 1945, included an amendment to Article 1(b), which stated:

> *The senior Japanese commanders and all ground, sea, air and auxiliary forces within Manchuria, Korea north of 38° north latitude and Karafuto shall surrender to the Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Forces in the Far East.*[14]

However, in this version of the order there is no directive regarding the surrender of the Kuril Islands to the Soviets. Stalin then sent an urgent message to Truman saying that according to Yalta, the Kurils should be included in the surrender zone. Stalin also made a new demand, asking for the surrender of Northern Hokkaido. However, Truman rejected Stalin's demand for Northern Hokkaido and instead revised General Order No. 1 to consolidate Stalin, adding in Article 1(b) of the document issued on August 11: "... Karafuto (Sakhalin) and the Kuril Islands shall surrender to the Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Forces in the Far East." Edited version of the General Order No. 1 sent to General Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964) in August 15, 1945. Stalin was still unhappy that Northern Hokkaido was not

13 "The Chargé in Japan (Huston) to the Secretary of State," Office of the Historian, accsessed January 11, 2025. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v07p2/d106.

14 "Revision of General Order No. 1," Office of the Historian, accsessed January 18, 2025. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v06/d418.

included in the order. He conveyed his dissatisfaction with this decision to Truman, and finally, on August 22, Truman made the third and final revision, stating that "... *all* of the Kurile Islands shall surrender to the Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Forces in the Far East." Truman hoped that the inclusion of the word "all" in this statement would convince Stalin to give up claims in Hokkaido and settle for the Kuriles. However, based on the final version of General Order No. 1, Stalin also claimed Kunashiri and Etorofu, the two southernmost islands in the Kuril chain, and thus the Kuril Islands Dispute had begun.[15]

Ultimately, on August 9, 1945, the USSR formally declared war on Japan. On August 18, the USSR's Kuril Islands Landing Operation was initiated. By the war's conclusion, the Red Army had secured control of the Kuril Islands. On September 2, 1945, Japan surrendered, marking the end of both the Kuril Islands Landing Operation and World War II.

Japan–United States Relations 1945–1952: From Enemies to Allies

At the end of World War II, Japan, the little giant of East Asia, was left with a defeated army and a Japanese people who had experienced the tragedy of war in the most painful way. At 8:15 on the morning of August 6, the Enola Gay bomber flew over the city of Hiroshima. The single bomb it carried was dropped on the central part of the city and exploded with a force equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT. Approximately 140,000 people were killed and tens of thousands injured. More than 80% of Hiroshima's buildings were destroyed. On the morning of August 9, the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. 70,000 people died, 60,000 were injured, and 5,000 were never found.[16]

In territorial terms, Japan was forced to abandon Taiwan, the Pescadores, Korea and southern Sakhalin. The Kuriles were now occupied by the Soviet Union, and Okinawa was under U.S. administration. Millions of people from the former colonies began to return to Japan. On August 30, 1945, General

15 Elleman, Nichols and Ouimet, "A Historical Reevaluation of America's Role in the Kuril Islands Dispute," *Pacific Affairs* vol. 71, no. 4, (Winter, 1998-1999), pp. 493-494. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2761081.

16 Hane and Perez, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, 5th ed. (Westview Press, 2013), pp. 355-357.

MacArthur arrived as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) and commanding officer of American forces in the Far East. He was the real ruler of Japan until April 28, 1952. General MacArthur was acting on behalf of the Allied Powers, but in fact the U.S. government was the ultimate authority. In theory, SCAP was supposed to exercise supervisory authority; but in actual practice, the real power in Japan was in the hands of SCAP. The primary goals of SCAP were demilitarization and democratization of Japan.[17]

SCAPIN-677 (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Instruction Note) established the territorial boundaries of post-war Japan. Articles 3 of this directive detail Japan's sovereign rights. According to Article 3:

> *For the purpose of this directive, Japan is defined to include the four main islands of Japan (Hokkaido, Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku) and the approximately 1,000 smaller adjacent islands, including the Tsushima Islands and the Ryukyu (Nansei) Islands north of 30° North Latitude (excluding Kuchinoshima Island); and excluding (a) Utsuryo (Ullung) Island, Liancourt Rocks (Take Island) and Quelpart (Saishu or Cheju) Island, (b) the Ryukyu (Nansei) Islands south of 30° North Latitude (including Kuchinoshima Island), the Izu, Nanpo, Bonin (Ogasawara) and Volcano (Kazan or Iwo) Island Groups, and all other outlying Pacific Islands including the Daito (Ohigashi or Oagari) Island Group, and Parece Vela (Okino-tori), Marcus (Minami-tori) and Ganges (Nakano-tori) Islands, and (c) the Kurile (Chishima) Islands, the Habomai (Hapomaze) Island Group (including Suisho, Yuri, Akiyuri, Shibotsu and Taraku Islands) and Shikotan Island.*[18]

Article 3(C) seems to clearly exclude the Kuril Islands (including Habomai Islands and Shikotan Island) from Japan's sovereign territory. However, it is stated that these islands are not subject to the exclusive sovereignty of Japan. Therefore, there is no definitive definition of which state has legal sovereignty over these islands.

The most notable effort to democratize Japan was in the political sphere, which involved the granting of civil rights and liberties. In this area, the United

17 Ibid,. pp. 363-366.

18 "SCAPIN-677: Governmental and Administrative Separation of Certain Outlying Areas from Japan," January 29, 1946, Japan History Information Studies, accsessed January 16, 2025. https://jahis.law.nagoya-u.ac.jp/scSCapindb/docs/scapin-677.

States set the following objectives: to eliminate the power of the emperor, to make the executive power of the government responsible to the people or their representatives, to establish a legislative body directly responsible to all adult citizens, and to develop democratically controlled political parties. Shortly thereafter, political parties were established. The former *Seiyūkai* members formed the Japan Liberal Party (*Nihon Jiyūtō*) under the leadership of Hatoyama Ichirō (1883-1959). The former *Minseitō* members formed the Japan Progressive Party (*Nihon Shinpotō*) led by Shidehara Kijūrō (1872-1951). The socialists organized the Japan Socialist Party (*Nihon Shakai-tō*), and Katayama Tetsu (1887-1978) became its leader. A Communist Party (*Nihon Kyōsan-tō*) was legalized with Tokuda Kyuichi (1894-1953) as its leader. In the first election, the Liberal Party won the most seats, allowing Hatoyama to become the next prime minister, although he was denied by SCAP because of his prewar political activities. The party members then turned to Yoshida Shigeru (1878-1967) to be the head of the government. Yoshida Shigeru became the first prime minister under U.S. Occupation.[19]

Yoshida's primary goal was the signing of a peace treaty to end the U.S. occupation. This intention was shared by U.S. officials. During the occupation era, U.S. policy toward Japan has shifted; in the beginning, the main objective of the occupation forces was to keep Japan from re-militarizing, but with the tense atmosphere of the *Cold War*, it was essential to support Japan in rebuilding its economy and transforming into a state that embraces democratic values. Japan became an important partner in the anti-communist bloc that the United States was assembling. Global politics have changed radically since the occupation policy was first implemented. The Chinese Communists had their revolution in the fall of 1949, and after the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953), the main concern of the U.S. was to protect Japan from Communist powers. In 1950, John Foster Dulles (1888-1959) was given the task of preparing a peace treaty. Dulles sought a bilateral security pact and a provision for the U.S. to maintain military bases in Japan. Okinawa was to remain under U.S. occupation, with the United States retaining the right to maintain military bases. A peace treaty conference was to be held in San Francisco in September. The Soviet Union attended the conference but did

19 Hane and Perez, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey,* 5th ed. (Westview Press, 2013), pp. 373-377.

not sign the treaty because its request to amend the treaty's provisions was denied. On the same day, a mutual security treaty was signed between Japan and the United States.[20]

The foundations of the U.S. military presence in the Pacific region, particularly in Okinawa, were originally laid by Emperor Hirohito (1901-1989). Hirohito's proposal was as follows: After a peace treaty, the U.S. could keep Okinawa as a base for its military forces and allow Japan to maintain sovereignty over the island. The emperor's proposal would eventually be implemented.[21] On September 2, 1945, after the surrender of Japan, the Ryukyu Islands (the southernmost archipelago of Japan, part of Okinawa) were administered by the U.S. Department of the Navy. Okinawa functioned as the chief military government under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. On October 4, 1950, General MacArthur organized the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR), and the USCAR existed until 1972, when Okinawa was returned to the sovereignty of Japan.[22]

On September 8, 1951, representatives of Japan and 50 Allied Powers met in San Francisco to sign a peace treaty with Japan to end the state of war. According to Article 2(C) of Chapter 2 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty:

> *Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands, and to that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of September 5, 1905.*[23]

It required Japan to relinquish its rights and claims to all of its northern islands, including the Kurils and Sakhalin. However, there is no clear definition of the Kuril Islands in this treaty. To this day, Japan continues to claim the four islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and Habomai. Especially Shikotan and Habomai Islands, which Japan considers culturally and historically an

20 Ibid,. pp. 379-380.

21 Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 700.

22 "Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, World War II (Record Group 260)," National Archives, 260.12, last reviewed April 9, 2021, accsessed January 16, 2025. https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/260.html#260.12.

23 Treaty of Peace with Japan, September 8, 1951, UNTS vol. 136 (p.45), accsessed January 17, 2025. https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801528c2&clang=_en.

extension of Hokkaido, and which were not considered part of the Kuril chain in the 1855 Shimoda and 1875 St. Petersburg treaties. Moreover, Japan had also lost southern territory. Under Article 3 of the treaty, the Bonin Islands, the Volcano Islands (including Iwo Jima), and the Ryukyu Islands (including Okinawa, Amami, Miyyako, and Yaeyama) were placed under United Nations (UN) trusteeship. Even though the Southern Islands were officially under UN administration, in fact they were under the control of the USCAR.

From the mid-20th century until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Cold War shaped global politics around the rivalry between the two superpowers. The ideological division between the Western Bloc, led by the United States, and the Eastern Bloc, led by the USSR, which began after World War II, turned into active wars from time to time. The Korean War, which broke out on June 25, 1950, was the first major conflict of the Cold War era. It was between the communist North, supported by the USSR, and the democratic South, supported by the Western powers. These developments, which were taking place right next to Japan, concerned the United States and occupied its agenda. The growing concern for Japanese security was directly related to the war in Korea. U.S. efforts to save South Korea from Communist invasion accelerated the State Department's attempts to restore Japan to a respected international position and make that country a prosperous ally of the United States. On the same day that the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed, the United States-Japan Security Treaty was also signed. The treaty allowed the United States to station troops in Japan and made the Japanese islands an important facet of America's global security containment structure. For American leaders, Japan went from a World War II enemy to a strategic ally, and Korea went from a peripheral region to a key Cold War battleground.[24]

In the Security Treaty Between the U.S.A. and Japan, it is stated that irresponsible militarism has not yet completely disappeared, and that Japan is therefore in danger. For this reason, Japan is willing to implement a security treaty with the United States. According to Article 1 of the treaty,

24 "Korean War and Japan's Recovery," Office of the Historian, accsessed January 22, 2025. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/korean-war.

Japan authorizes the U.S. to maintain military forces in Japan to ensure Japan's security. It also states that the United States may intervene in internal disturbances at Japan's request.[25] The month of September 1951 marked an important turning point for Japan. With the Treaty of San Francisco, Japan had regained its sovereignty, and with the Security Treaty, Japan had secured itself against possible external threats under the protection of the United States and was able to focus all its resources on rebuilding its economy. In political terms Japan gained a very powerful ally.

Hatoyama Cabinet: The End of the State of War with the Soviets and the Kuril Islands Issue

On December 10, 1954, Yoshida was succeeded by Ichirō Hatoyama as the new prime minister. The members of Hatoyama's government were mostly prewar politicians, in contrast to Yoshida, whose cabinet included bureaucrats. Hatoyama favored an independent Japan in foreign policy and supported constitutional reform. He abandoned Yoshida's policy of close relations with the United States in favor of normalizing relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China.[26]

Hatoyama's statement, "Is my intention to open way for world peace by starting free intercourse and expanding trade with the Soviet Union and Red China, thus normalize relations with these countries." was for this purpose. On December 16, 1954, USSR foreign minister Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Molotov (1890-1986) expressed a positive attitude toward Japan's desire to normalize relations.[27] In the summer of 1955, Soviet-Japanese contacts began in London. Japan focused on three issues: (a) the USSR's handover of prisoners of war to Japan, (b) the return of territories lost to Russia at the end of the war, in particular the Habomai, Shikotan, and Kuril Islands. South Sakhalin (Karafuto) was also among the territories demanded to be returned, but there was no real expectation that this demand would be met. South Sakhalin was

25 United Nations, *Treaty Series Volume 136*, p. 216, accsessed January 22, 2025. https://treaties.un-.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20136/v136.pdf.

26 Hane and Perez, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey,* 5th ed. (Westview Press, 2013), pp. 385-386.

27 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Japan-Soviet Talks*, March 9, 1955, pp. 1-2, accessed January 22, 2025. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp80r01443r000300330018-5.

kept on the agenda more as a bargaining chip. (c) Soviet support for Japan's entry into the United Nations and a mutual fisheries agreement.[28] However, Hatoyama's first priority was to end the state of war with the USSR, with territorial issues to be discussed later. In any case, the Soviets had no intention of changing their borders, since Moscow claims that the Kurils were legally part of the Soviet Union as a result of Yalta. However, the Russians were willing to discuss the Kurils if Okinawa and the Bonin Islands were returned to Japan. U.S. officials noted that the Japanese government had noticed that a possible deal could be used as leverage against the U.S. presence on Okinawa and Bonin.[29]

Japan's peace negotiations with the Soviets were closely monitored by the United States. In the telegram sent by Secretary of State Dulles to the Japanese Embassy, it is noteworthy that the U.S. supported Japan's claims and defended its theories. In the telegram dated July 1, 1955, Dulles made the following statements:

> *Habomais and Shikotan are geographically, historically and legally integral part Hokkaido and not part Kuriles. . . Japan in any case not bound by terms Yalta Agreement since not party thereto and Yalta Agreement not mentioned Potsdam Proclamation which Japan accepted. . . Potsdam Proclamation clearly leaves question Japanese territorial determination for subsequent consideration Parties Proclamation. U.S.S.R. cannot unilaterally make this determination. . . Under terms San Francisco Peace Treaty Japan relinquished title Kuriles and South Sakhalin but treaty did not transfer these islands to another State. U.S.S.R. . . . Furthermore Treaty provides no country which has not signed Treaty shall derive benefits from Treaty...*[30]

Although Dulles did not explicitly state it in his writings, it is understood that the United States sided with Japan regarding this dispute, citing Japan's non-participation in Yalta and the fact that it was not explicitly decided in

28 I. I. M., "Soviet-Japanese Peace Treaty Talks: The Negotiations as Seen from Tokyo," *The World Today,* vol. 11, no. 8 (Aug., 1955), pp. 357-360. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40392838.

29 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Japan-Soviet Peace Treaty Talks*, March 8, 1955, accsessed January 23, 2025. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00890A000500030021-6.pdf.

30 "34. Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Japan," Office of the Historian, accsessed January 23, 2025. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/d34.

the postwar period under whose sovereignty the disputed islands would be placed.

The year 1956 was one of the most important turning points in Russian-Japanese relations. Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu Mamoru (1887-1957), who traveled to Moscow in July to normalize relations with the USSR, hoped for a positive outcome to the negotiations. Shigemitsu recognized that Japan's territorial claims would not be easily accepted by the Kremlin, but he argued that Japan should not formally abandon its claims. He believed that failure to agree to the territorial demands could offset the public backlash against other achievements of the negotiations, such as Japan's admission to the UN, the entry into force of the fisheries treaty, and the extradition of Japanese prisoners of war. U.S. officials believed that any peace treaty between Japan and the USSR would not include a territorial clause. A treaty without reference to the territorial issue had the potential to postpone the resolution of the conflict indefinitely. At the London talks, however, it was stated that the USSR might back down from its insistence on the Shikotan and Habomai islands.[31]

On August 19, Shigemitsu and Dulles had a meeting in London. The topic on the agenda was the Japanese-Soviet treaty negotiations. Shigemitsu stated that the only obstacle to a conclusion of the peace treaty was the territorial issue, that the Soviets wanted to demarcate the border between the two countries north of the Habomai and Shikotan islands, and asked Dulles whether a possible settlement would violate the San Francisco Treaty. Dulles replied that according to the peace treaty, the Ryukyus and the Kuriles had the same status, and even though the United States maintained a presence on the Ryukyus, Japan still had legitimate sovereignty. However, under Article 26, if Japan offered better terms to Russia, the United States would have the right to demand the same terms. Therefore, in a scenario where Japan recognized Russia's sovereignty over the Kurils, the U.S. would also claim sovereignty over the Ryukyus. In the remainder of the speech, Dulles stated that he believed that treating the Kurils in the same status as the Ryukyus, i.e., as foreign occupation under Japanese sovereignty, could solve the problem.

31 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Current Intelligence Bulletin – 1956/07/31*, July 31, 1956, p. 8, accsessed January 23, 2025. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/03161867.

At the end of the speech, Secretary Dulles suggested that Japan might want to inform the Soviets of the hard line of the United States that if the Soviet Union takes all of the Kurils, the United States could stay in Okinawa indefinitely.[32] This diplomatic move by Dulles led Japan into a dead end both in its foreign policy and at home. Hatoyama was eager to make peace with the Soviets, but now the Southern Islands were in the danger zone. After Shigemitsu's return to Tokyo and his report on the peace talks, a political crisis erupted in Japan. Some in the Liberal Democratic Party thought they had a golden opportunity to force Hatoyama to resign. LDP and public opinion were opposed to the Soviet demands. Behind the scenes, it was rumored that Hatoyama's insistence on improving Japanese-Soviet relations would lead to concessions to Moscow.[33] Although Yoshida faction members within the LDP tried to oppose Hatoyama, delegation left for Moscow on October 7, 1956.

On October 19, Japan and the Soviet Union signed the Japanese-Soviet Joint Declaration. On the USSR side; Nikolai Bulganin (1895-1975), Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Khruschev (1894-1971), Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Anastas Mikoyan (1895-1978), First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Andrei Gromyko (1909-1989), First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and Nikolai Fedorenko (1912-2000), Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR took part in the negotiations. Prime Minister Ichirō Hatoyama, together with Agriculture and Forestry Minister Ichirō Kono (1898-1965) and Shunichi Matsumoto (1897-1987), a member of the House of Representatives, led the negotiations on the Japanese side.

The parties agreed to restore diplomatic relations in order to promote mutual cooperation and understanding for the sake of peace and security in the Far East. Article 1 of the Joint Declaration terminated the state of war between the USSR and Japan. Under Article 4, the USSR pledged to support Japan's application for membership in the United Nations. Articles 5 and 6 dealt with prisoners of war and war reparations. Japan had achieved three

32 "89. Memorandom of a Conversation Between Secratary of State Dulles and Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, Ambassador Aldrich's Residence, London, August 19, 1956, 6 p.m.," Office of the Historian, accsessed January 25, 2025. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/d89.

33 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Political Crisis In Japan*, September 5, 1956, pp. 1-6, accsessed January 25, 2025. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp79r00890a000700090009-2.

of the four main goals previously mentioned with the Joint Declaration. All that remained was the realization of a peace treaty with the Soviets and the settlement of the Northern Islands issue. Two vital issues were mentioned in Article 9 of the joint declaration. According to Article 9:

> *The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan agree to continue, after the restoration of normal diplomatic relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, negotiations for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty.*
>
> *In this connexion, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, desiring to meet the wishes of Japan and taking into consideration the interests of the Japanese State, agrees to transfer to Japan the Habomai Islands and the island of Shikotan, the actual transfer of these islands to Japan to take place after the conclusion of a Peace Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan.*[34]

If the peace treaty envisioned in the Joint Declaration had been realized, the Kuril Islands Dispute would have been resolved. Japan would have regained sovereignty over Habomai Islands and Shikotan, while the Etorofu and Kunashiri would have been placed under Russian sovereignty. In this case, however, it is very likely that the moves Secretary Dulles spoke of in London would have been made, and the U.S. would have claimed the Ryukyus.

The USSR-Japan Joint Declaration, signed on October 19, came into force on December 12, 1956. One week later, on December 18, Japan became a member of the United Nations and rejoined the international community.[35] On December 19, Hatoyama sent a letter to Bulganin expressing gratitude to the USSR on behalf of the Japanese people for their support in joining the United Nations.[36] On December 23, 1956, the already elderly Hatoyama turned over the premiership to Ishibashi Tanzan (1884-1973). Ishibashi

34 "Joint Declaration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan," Presidential Library, accsessed January 25, 2025. https://www.prlib.ru/en/node/370124.

35 "Kokusai Shakai e no Fukki" 国際社会への復帰, Kokuritsu Kōbunsho-kan 国立公文書館, accsessed January 25, 2025. https://www.archives.go.jp/exhibition/digital/high-growth/contents/04/index03.html.

36 "Letter from Prime Minister of Japan I. Hatoyama to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR NA Bulganin expressing gratitude for the support of Japan's request to join the UN," Presidential Library, accessed January 26, 2025. https://www.prlib.ru/en/node/357515.

stayed in office for a short period of 3 months. Hatoyama wanted to sign a peace treaty with the Soviets but was unable to do so. He took his place in contemporary Japanese history as the leader who took the most concrete steps and risks regarding the Northern Territorial Dispute. In the atmosphere of the Cold War, he pursued a revisionist foreign policy and signaled peace with the USSR despite Japan's alliance with the United States.

Conclusion

Since 1786, when the Japanese and Russians first came into contact, the sovereignty of the Kuril Chain has been crucial as a bridge between the two powers. The dominance of the archipelago, which separates the Sea of Okhotsk from the North Pacific, provided significant geopolitical and geostrategic power in the region. Throughout history, both nations have at one point or another dominated some of the islands or the entire chain. The Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1875 gave Japan legal sovereignty over the entire Kuril chain for the first time in history. However, with its defeat in World War II, Japan not only lost its gains, but also lost sovereignty over the Habomai Islands, Shikotan, Kunashiri, and Etorofu to the USSR, which it culturally and historically claimed were within its national borders. The USSR (and its successor, the Russian Federation) claims the Kuril Islands under the terms of the Yalta agreement and asserts that the islands are legally its property. The Kuril Islands Dispute has not been resolved since 1945.

The year 1956 is important as the period when the most serious attempts were made in Russian-Japanese relations to resolve the Kuril Islands Dispute. Hatoyama government succeeded in normalizing relations with the USSR and achieved Japan's UN membership by obtaining the consent of the USSR, which was one of the five UN permanent members. The 1956 USSR-Japan Joint Declaration stipulated that a peace treaty would be signed to settle the Kuril Islands issue. Unfortunately, this peace treaty was never signed. The settlement of the territorial issue, as stated in the Joint Declaration, would have led the United States to make a countermove by claiming the Ryukyus. Under Article 26 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the US was legally entitled to claim the same possible advantages that Japan had given to Russia. Obviously, Japanese policymakers did not take this risk, and in the

long run they even succeeded in completely regaining the southern islands under U.S. control, with Okinawa returning to Japan in 1972.

It is clear that the only way to resolve the Northern Territories dispute is through a treaty between Russia and Japan. However, no progress has been made on this issue by either side. With the end of the Cold War and the change in the global balance of power, Japan can act more freely regarding this issue. However, it should not be forgotten that the United States is still one of Japan's most important allies. It would be wrong to consider the Kuril Islands dispute as an issue between Japan and Russia alone; this issue is tri-subjective. Japan-Russia-United States.

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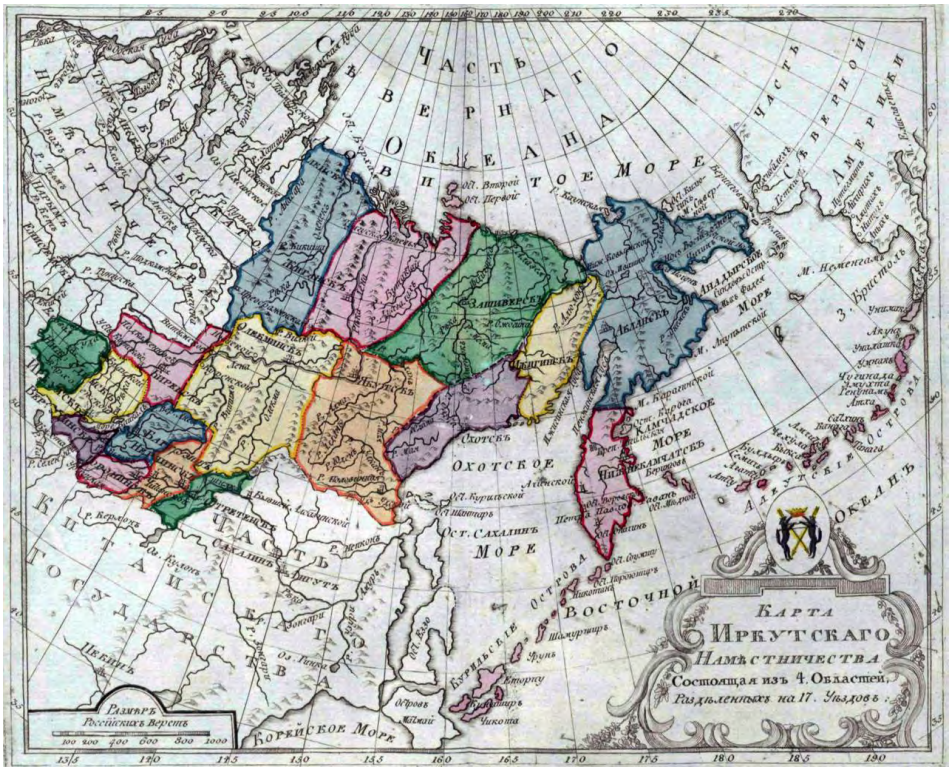
APPENDIX



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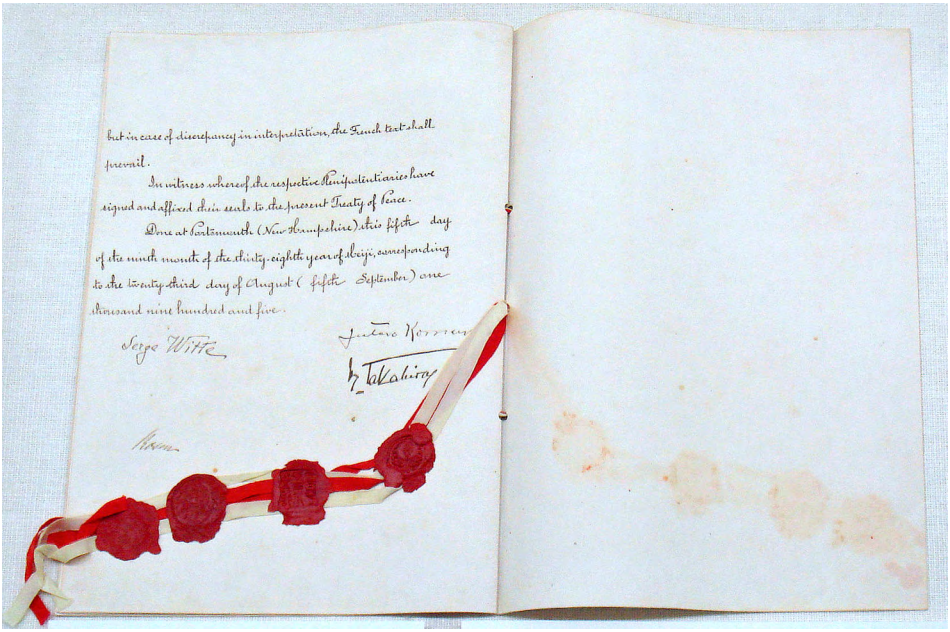

but in case of discrepancy in interpretation, the French text shall prevail.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed their seals to the present Treaty of Peace.

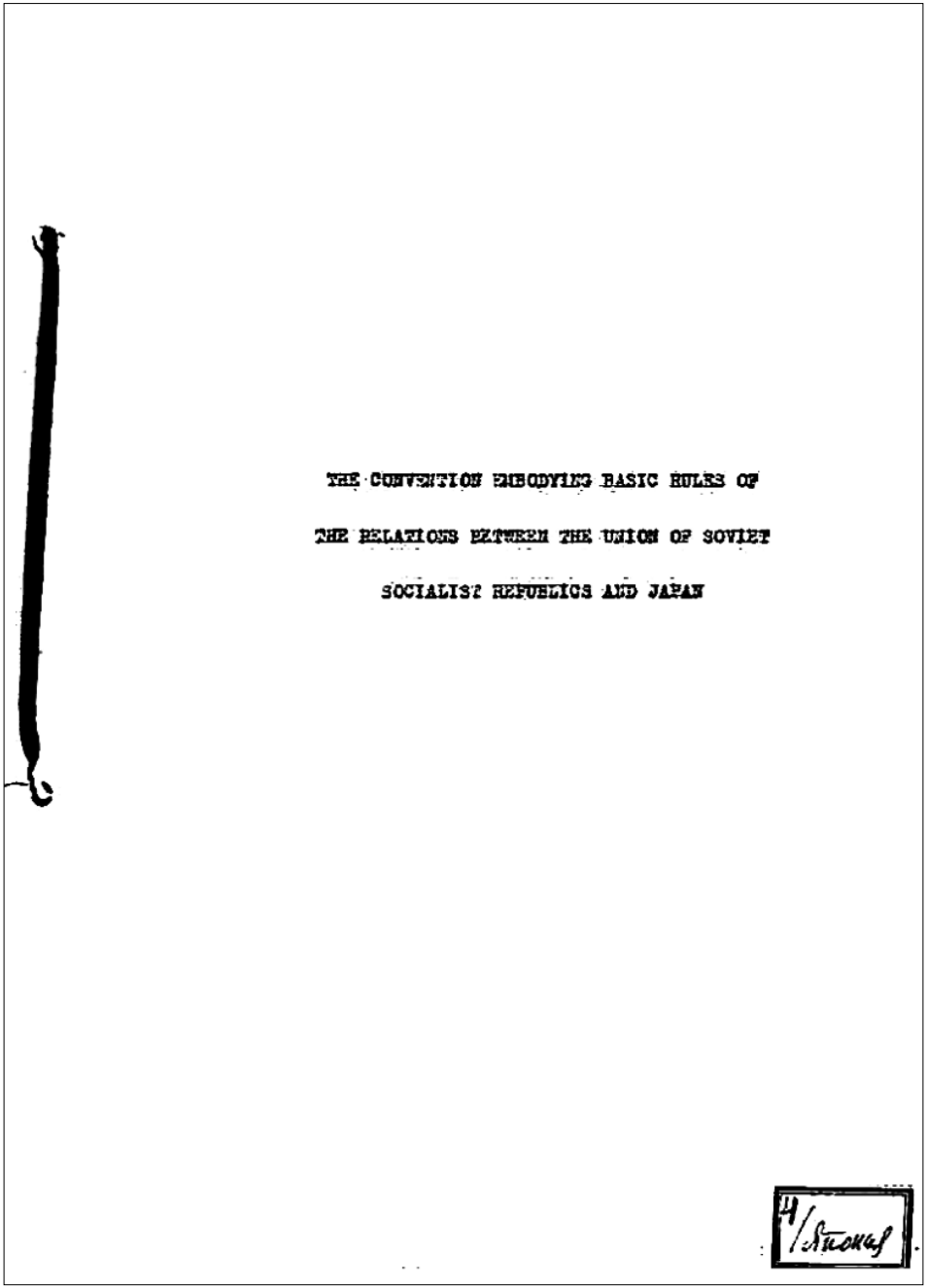
Done at Portsmouth (New Hampshire) this fifth day of the ninth month of the thirty-eighth year of Meiji, corresponding to the twenty-third day of August (fifth September) one thousand nine hundred and five.

Serge Witte

Jutaro Komura

K. Takahira

"Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905", World Imaging, photographed at Japan Foreign Ministry Archives, accessed January 29, 2025, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/92/Japan_Russia_Treaty_of_Peace_5_September_1905.jpg.



THE CONVENTION EMBODYING BASIC RULES OF

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET

SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND JAPAN

ARTICLE III.

In view of climatic conditions in Northern Saghalien preventing the immediate homeward transport tion of Japanese troops now stationed there, these troops shall be completely withdrawn from the said region by May 15, 1925.

Such withdrawal shall be commenced as soon as climatic conditions will permit it and any and all districts in Northern Saghalien so evacuated by Japanese troops shall immediately thereupon be restored in full sovereignty to the proper authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The details pertaining to the transfer of administration and to the termination of the occupation shall be arranged at Alexandrovsk between the Commander of the Japanese Occupation Army and the Representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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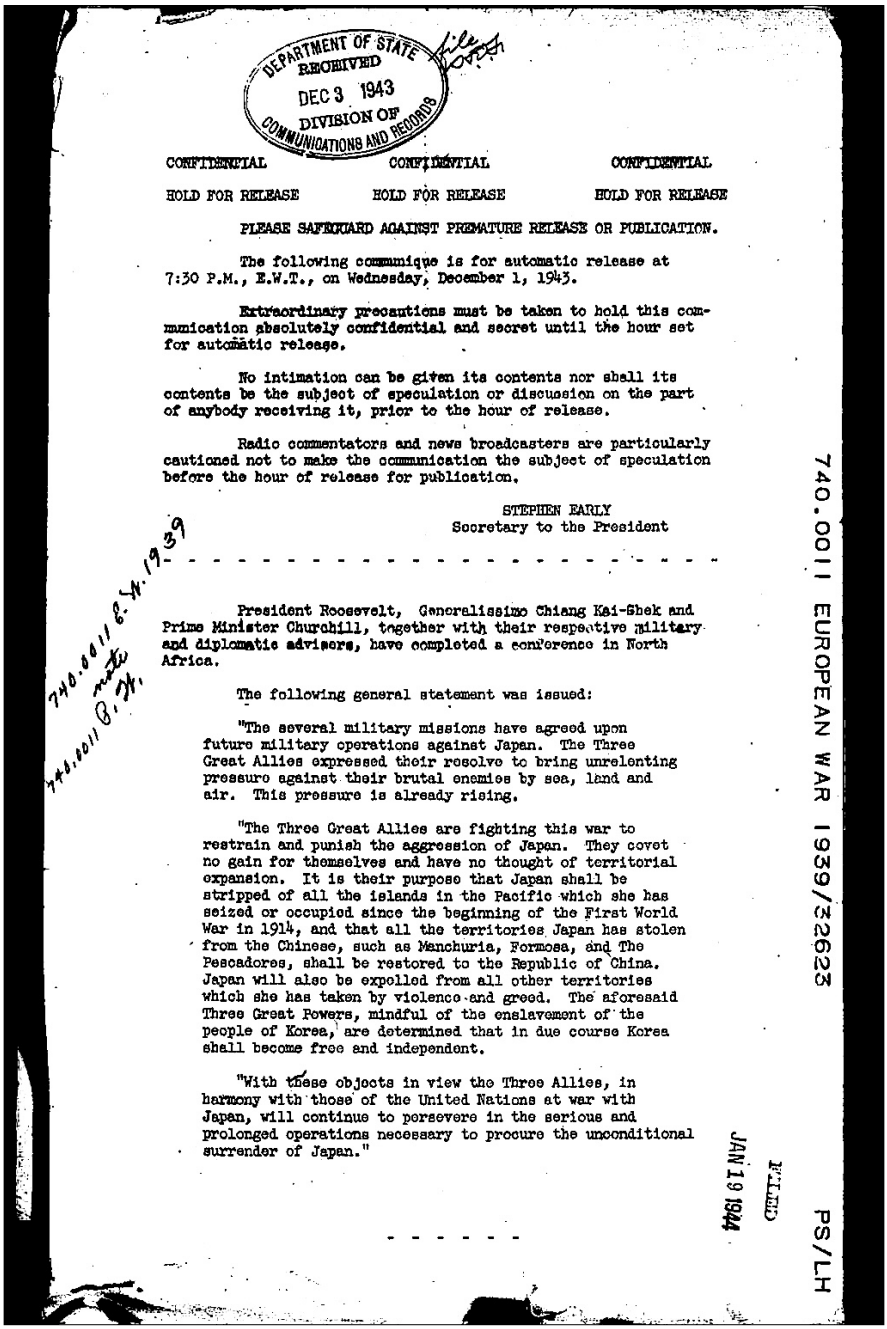

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HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE OR PUBLICATION.

The following communique is for automatic release at 7:30 P.M., E.W.T., on Wednesday, December 1, 1943.

Extraordinary precautions must be taken to hold this communication absolutely confidential and secret until the hour set for automatic release.

No intimation can be given its contents nor shall its contents be the subject of speculation or discussion on the part of anybody receiving it, prior to the hour of release.

Radio commentators and news broadcasters are particularly cautioned not to make the communication the subject of speculation before the hour of release for publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

- -

740.0011 E.W. 1939

740.0011 E.W. 1939

President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Prime Minister Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, have completed a conference in North Africa.

The following general statement was issued:

"The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan. The Three Great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. This pressure is already rising.

"The Three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and The Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid Three Great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

"With these objects in view the Three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

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740.0011 EUROPEAN WAR 1939/32623

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"Cairo Cummuniqué, Decembr 1, 1943," National Diet Library, accessed January 30, 2025. https://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/002_46shoshi.html.

AGREEMENT REGARDING JAPAN

The leaders of the three great powers - the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain - have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe is terminated, the Soviet Union shall enter into war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

1. The status quo in Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved.

2. The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz.:

(a) The southern part of Sakhalin as well as the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union;

(b) The commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded, and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the U.S.S.R. restored;

(c) The Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad, which provide an outlet to Dairen, shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese company, it being understood that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain sovereignty in Manchuria;

3. The Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

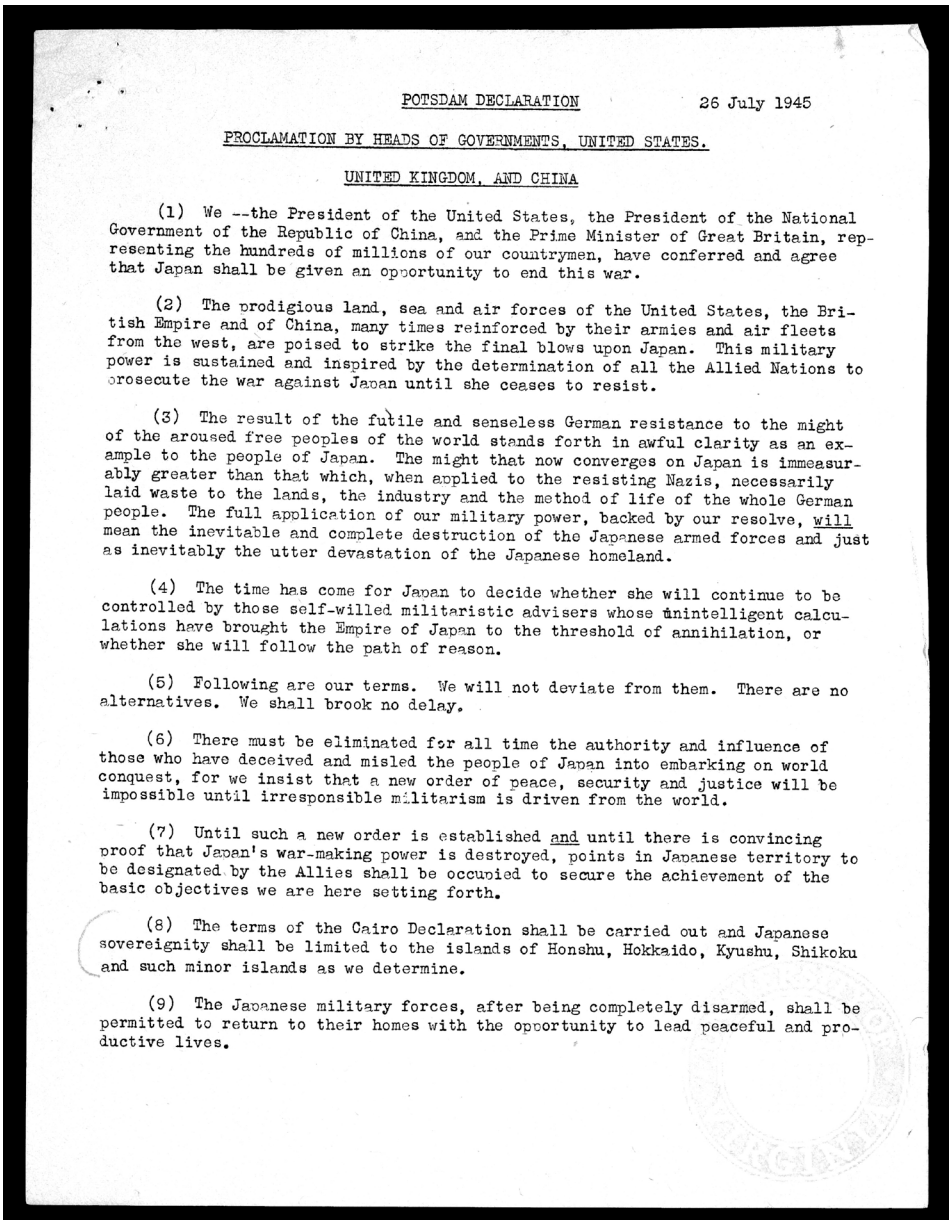
It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to maintain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The heads of the three great powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part, the Soviet Union expresses it readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

Joseph Stalin

"Yalta Conference Agreement, Declaration of a Liberated Europe, February 11, 1945," Wilson Center Digital Archive, accessed January 10, 2025. https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/yalta-conference-agreement-declaration-liberated-europe.



POTSDAM DECLARATION 26 July 1945

PROCLAMATION BY HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS, UNITED STATES.

UNITED KINGDOM, AND CHINA

(1) We --the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agree that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

(2) The prodigious land, sea and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China, many times reinforced by their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. This military power is sustained and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist.

(3) The result of the futile and senseless German resistance to the might of the aroused free peoples of the world stands forth in awful clarity as an example to the people of Japan. The might that now converges on Japan is immeasurably greater than that which, when applied to the resisting Nazis, necessarily laid waste to the lands, the industry and the method of life of the whole German people. The full application of our military power, backed by our resolve, will mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland.

(4) The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

(5) Following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

(6) There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

(7) Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

(8) The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

(9) The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

"Potsdam Declaration, July 26, 1945," University of Virginia School of Law, C.W.J. Phelps Collection, Box 2, Folder 1, accessed January 30, 2025. https://imtfe.law.virginia.edu/collections/phelps/2/1/international-documents-and-agreements#.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

AG 091 (29 Jan 46)GS
(SCAPIN - 677)

APO 500
29 January 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR: IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

THROUGH : Central Liaison Office, Tokyo.

SUBJECT : Governmental and Administrative Separation of Certain Outlying Areas from Japan.

1. The Imperial Japanese Government is directed to cease exercising, or attempting to exercise, governmental or administrative authority over any area outside of Japan, or over any government officials and employees or any other persons within such areas.

2. Except as authorized by this Headquarters, the Imperial Japanese Government will not communicate with government officials and employees or with any other persons outside of Japan for any purpose other than the routine operation of authorized shipping, communications and weather services.

3. For the purpose of this directive, Japan is defined to include the four main islands of Japan (Hokkaido, Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku) and the approximately 1,000 smaller adjacent islands, including the Tsushima Islands and the Ryukyu (Nansei) Islands north of 30° North Latitude (excluding Kuchinoshima Island); and excluding (a) Utsuryo (Ullung) Island, Liancourt Rocks (Take Island) and Quelpart (Saishu or Cheju) Island, (b) the Ryukyu (Nansei) Islands south of 30° North Latitude (including Kuchinoshima Island), the Izu, Nanpo, Bonin (Ogasawara) and Volcano (Kazan or Iwo) Island Groups, and all other outlying Pacific Islands [including the Daito (Chigashi or Oagari) Island Group, and Parece Vela (Okino-tori), Marcus (Minami-tori) and Ganges (Nakano-tori) Islands], and (c) the Kurile (Chishima) Islands, the Habomai (Hapomaze) Island Group (including Suisho, Yuri, Akiyuri, Shibotsu and Taraku Islands) and Shikotan Island.

4. Further areas specifically excluded from the governmental and administrative jurisdiction of the Imperial Japanese Government are the following: (a) all Pacific Islands seized or occupied under mandate or otherwise by Japan since the beginning of the World War in 1914, (b) Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, (c) Korea, and (d) Karafuto.

"SCAPIN-677: Governmental and Administrative Separation of Certain Outlying Areas from Japan," January 29, 1946, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA), accessed January 30, 2025.

No. 1832. TREATY[1] OF PEACE WITH JAPAN. SIGNED AT SAN FRANCISCO, ON 8 SEPTEMBER 1951

Whereas the Allied Powers and Japan are resolved that henceforth their relations shall be those of nations which, as sovereign equals, cooperate in friendly association to promote their common welfare and to maintain international peace and security, and are therefore desirous of concluding a Treaty of Peace which will settle questions still outstanding as a result of the existence of a state of war between them;

[1] In accordance with article 23 (*a*) the Treaty came into force initially on 28 April 1952 with respect to the following States by virtue of the deposit by those States with the Government of the United States of America of their respective instruments of ratification on the dates indicated:

Japan	28 November	1951	Canada	17 April	1952
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	3 January	1952	Pakistan	17 April	1952
Mexico	3 March	1952	France	18 April	1952
Argentina	9 April	1952	Ceylon	28 April	1952
Australia	10 April	1952	United States of America (with a declaration)*	28 April	1952
New Zealand	10 April	1952			

It came into force subsequently on the dates indicated with respect to the following other States by deposit of the instrument of ratification with the Government of the United States of America:

El Salvador (with the following declarations)**	6 May	1952
Brazil	20 May	1952
Cambodia	2 June	1952
Dominican Republic	6 June	1952
Ethiopia	12 June	1952
Peru	17 June	1952
Netherlands	17 June	1952
Viet-Nam	18 June	1952
Norway	19 June	1952
Venezuela	20 June	1952
Laos	20 June	1952

"I) El Salvador no acepta ni ratifica los compromisos que otros Estados puedan haber contraído con respecto a la transferencia o final disposición de los territorios enumerados en el artículo Segundo del Tratado de Paz con el Japón, en todos aquellos casos en que no se haya consultado y acatado la voluntad libremente expresada por las poblaciones afectadas. Esta reserva se aplica a la transferencia de las Islas Kuriles, de una parte de la Isla Sajaline (Sakhalin) y a cualquier otro caso análogo, incluyendo además todo compromiso sobre la Isla de Formosa; y

"II) No podrá tener efecto alguno en El Salvador debido a que son contrarias a su Constitución Política, las disposiciones del Artículo XIV del Tratado de Paz con el Japón que autorizan la confiscación de bienes de personas naturales o jurídicas japonesas."

* "As part of such advice and consent the Senate states that nothing the treaty contains is deemed to diminish or prejudice, in favor of the Soviet Union, the right, title, and interest of Japan, or the Allied Powers as defined is said treaty, in and to South Sakhalin and its adjacent islands, the Kurile Islands, the Habomai Islands, the Island of Shikotan, or any other territory, rights, or interests possessed by Japan on December 7, 1941, or to confer any right, title, or benefit therein or thereto on the Soviet Union; and also that nothing in the said treaty, or the advice and consent of the Senate to the ratification thereof, implies recognition on the part of the United States of the provisions in favor of the Soviet Uni nocontained in the so-called 'Yalta agreement' regarding Japan of February 11, 1945."

[TRANSLATION — TRADUCTION]

** "El Salvador does not accept nor ratify the commitments which the other nations may have contracted with respect to the transference or final disposition of those territories enumerated in article 2 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, in all those cases in which the freely expressed will of the affected populations was not consulted and respected. This reservation applies to the transference of the Kurile Islands, a part of the Island of Sakhalin, and any other similar case, including, furthermore, any commitment concerning the Island of Formosa.

"The provisions of article 14 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan which authorizes the confiscation of the property of Japanese natural and juridical persons can have no effect in El Salvador, in view of the fact that they are contrary to its Political Constitution."

Whereas Japan for its part declares its intention to apply for membership in the United Nations and in all circumstances to conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations ; to strive to realize the objectives of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ; to seek to create within Japan conditions of stability and well-being as defined in Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter of the United Nations and already initiated by post-surrender Japanese legislation ; and in public and private trade and commerce to conform to internationally accepted fair practices ;

Whereas the Allied Powers welcome the intentions of Japan set out in the foregoing paragraph ;

The Allied Powers and Japan have therefore determined to conclude the present Treaty of Peace, and have accordingly appointed the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, who, after presentation of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions :

CHAPTER I

PEACE

Article 1

(*a*) The state of war between Japan and each of the Allied Powers is terminated as from the date on which the present Treaty comes into force between Japan and the Allied Power concerned as provided for in Article 23.

(*b*) The Allied Powers recognize the full sovereignty of the Japanese people over Japan and its territorial waters.

CHAPTER II

TERRITORY

Article 2

(*a*) Japan, recognizing the independence of Korea, renounces all right, title and claim to Korea, including the islands of Quelpart, Port Hamilton and Dagelet.

(*b*) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores.

(*c*) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands, and to that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of September 5, 1905.[1]

(*d*) Japan renounces all right, title and claim in connection with the League of Nations Mandate System, and accepts the action of the United Nations Security

[1] De Martens : *Nouveau Recueil général de Traités*, deuxième série, tome XXXIII, p. 3.

"Treaty of Peace with Japan", September 8, 1951, UNTS vol. 136 (p.45), accessed January 17, 2025. https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801528c2&clang=_en.

No. 1835. SECURITY TREATY[1] BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND JAPAN. SIGNED AT SAN FRANCISCO, ON 8 SEPTEMBER 1951

Japan has this day signed a Treaty of Peace[2] with the Allied Powers. On the coming into force of that Treaty, Japan will not have the effective means to exercise its inherent right of self-defense because it has been disarmed.

There is danger to Japan in this situation because irresponsible militarism has not yet been driven from the world. Therefore Japan desires a Security Treaty with the United States of America to come into force simultaneously with the Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and Japan.

The Treaty of Peace recognizes that Japan as a sovereign nation has the right to enter into collective security arrangements, and further, the Charter of the United Nations recognizes that all nations possess an inherent right of individual and collective self-defense.

In exercise of these rights, Japan desires, as a provisional arrangement for its defense, that the United States of America should maintain armed forces of its own in and about Japan so as to deter armed attack upon Japan.

The United States of America, in the interest of peace and security, is presently willing to maintain certain of its armed forces in and about Japan, in the expectation, however, that Japan will itself increasingly assume responsibility for its own defense against direct and indirect aggression, always avoiding any armament which could be an offensive threat or serve other than to promote peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

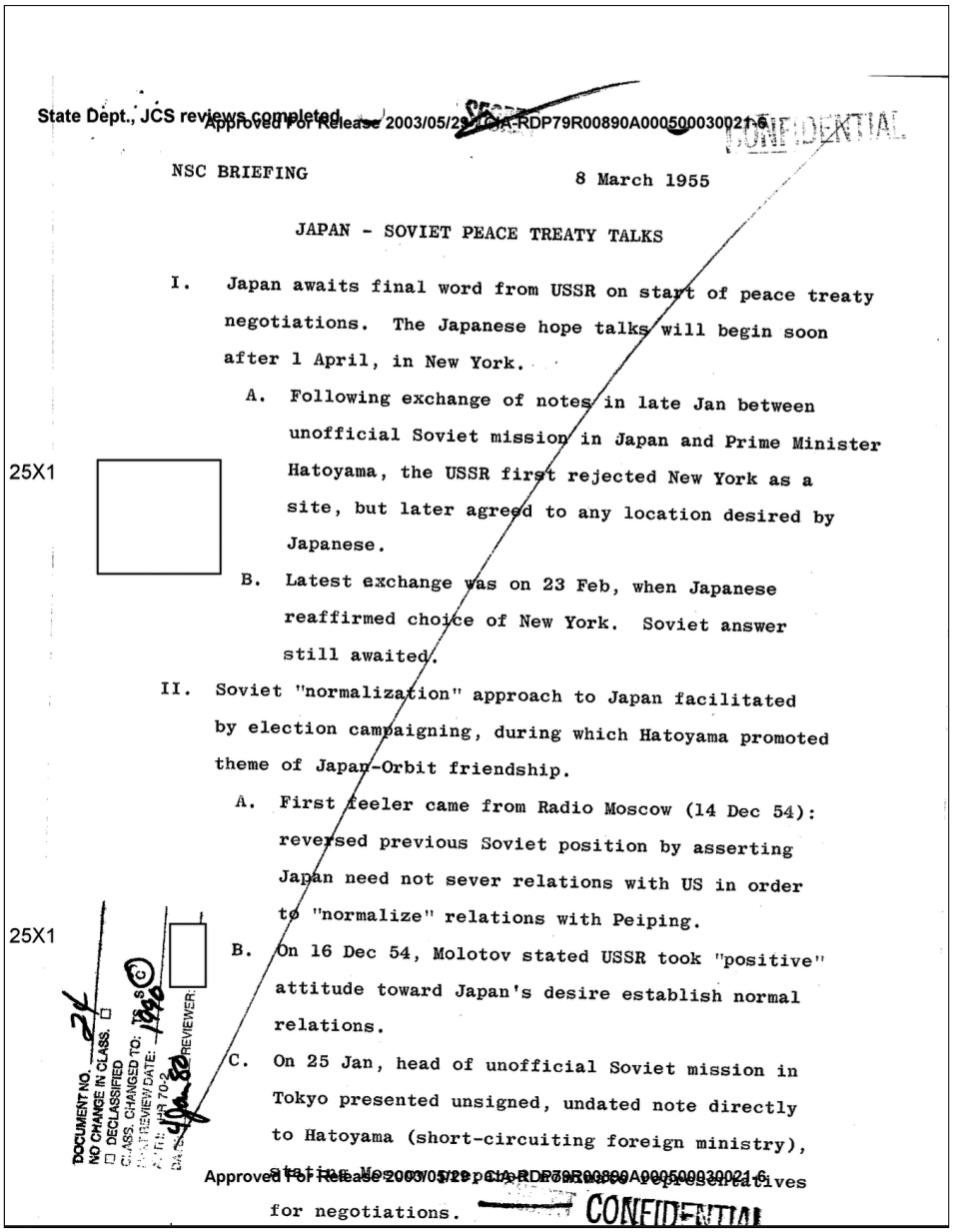
Accordingly, the two countries have agreed as follows :

Article I

Japan grants, and the United States of American accepts, the right, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including

[1] Came into force on 28 April 1952, by the exchange of the instruments of ratification at Washington, in accordance with article V.
[2] See p. 45 of this volume.

United Nations, *Treaty Series Volume 136*, p. 216., accessed January 22, 2025. https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20136/v136.pdf.



State Dept., JCS reviews completed
Approved For Release 2003/05/29 : CIA-RDP79R00890A000500030021-6

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

NSC BRIEFING

8 March 1955

JAPAN - SOVIET PEACE TREATY TALKS

I. Japan awaits final word from USSR on start of peace treaty negotiations. The Japanese hope talks will begin soon after 1 April, in New York.

A. Following exchange of notes in late Jan between unofficial Soviet mission in Japan and Prime Minister Hatoyama, the USSR first rejected New York as a site, but later agreed to any location desired by Japanese.

25X1

B. Latest exchange was on 23 Feb, when Japanese reaffirmed choice of New York. Soviet answer still awaited.

II. Soviet "normalization" approach to Japan facilitated by election campaigning, during which Hatoyama promoted theme of Japan-Orbit friendship.

A. First feeler came from Radio Moscow (14 Dec 54): reversed previous Soviet position by asserting Japan need not sever relations with US in order to "normalize" relations with Peiping.

25X1

B. On 16 Dec 54, Molotov stated USSR took "positive" attitude toward Japan's desire establish normal relations.

C. On 25 Jan, head of unofficial Soviet mission in Tokyo presented unsigned, undated note directly to Hatoyama (short-circuiting foreign ministry), stating Moscow prepared to receive representatives for negotiations.

DOCUMENT NO. 24
NO CHANGE IN CLASS. ☐
☐ DECLASSIFIED
CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S C
NEXT REVIEW DATE: 1990
AUTH: HR 70-2
DATE: 4 Jan 82 REVIEWER:

Approved For Release 2003/05/29 : CIA-RDP79R00890A000500030021-6

CONFIDENTIAL

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Japan-Soviet Peace Treaty Talks*, March 8, 1955, accessed January 23, 2025. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00890A000500030021-6.pdf.

Approved for Release: 2019/10/23 C03161867

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5. JAPAN AND USSR MAY REACH AGREEMENT

Japanese foreign minister Shigemitsu's statement in Moscow on 28 July that he had come to normalize relations between Japan and the USSR suggests that the renewed negotiations will result in an agreement. His previous public statements that he would not break off the talks give further support to this view.

Shigemitsu believes a strong effort, including an appeal to the top Kremlin leaders, will be necessary to regain the southern Kuril Islands, but that if the attempt fails Japan must not formally relinquish its territorial claims.

Shigemitsu, like the Japanese public, believes that official relations with Moscow are necessary for Japan to gain admission to the UN, to bring the recently concluded fishery pacts into force, and to assure the return of Japanese detainees before winter. He feels that Japanese achievement of these aims would counterbalance a Soviet rejection of Tokyo's territorial demands.

Shigemitsu prefers a formal peace treaty to a restoration of diplomatic relations by an exchange of ambassadors. This could lead to a treaty which omits any reference to territories. Such a treaty would in effect defer indefinitely the solution of the territorial problem, but could have an appended protocol in which the USSR agreed to withdraw from Shikotan and the Habomai Islands, since the USSR at the London talks offered to return them.

~~SECRET~~

Approved for Release: 2019/10/23 C03161867

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Current Intelligence Bulletin – 1956/07/31*, July 31, 1956, p. 8, accessed January 23, 2025, https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/03161867.

Approved For Release 2008/07/14 : CIA-RDP79R00890A000700090009-2

BRIEFING suspended

SECRET

5 September 1956

POLITICAL CRISIS IN JAPAN

Foreign Minister Shigemitsu's return to Tokyo this week, to report on the deadlocked Japan-Soviet treaty negotiations, has brought out into the open a political storm which presents the Hatoyama Government with a serious crisis.

The dispute arises out of a conflict within the conservative Liberal-Democratic Party, which heads the Government, over the action Japan should take now that its negotiations with the USSR have been stalemated.

DOCUMENT NO. 8
NO CHANGE IN CLASS. ☐
X DECLASSIFIED
CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S C
NEXT REVIEW DATE:
AUTH: HR 70-2
DATE 1-14-80 REVIEWER:

25X1

25 YEAR RE-REVIEW

Approved For Release 2008/07/14 : CIA-RDP79R00890A000700090009-2

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Political Crisis In Japan*, September 5, 1956, pp. 1-6, accsessed January 25, 2025. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp79r00890a000700090009-2.

СОВМЕСТНАЯ ДЕКЛАРАЦИЯ

СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК И ЯПОНИИ

С 13 по 19 октября 1956 года в Москве состоялись переговоры между Делегациями Союза Советских Социалистических Республик и Японии.

Со стороны Союза Советских Социалистических Республик в переговорах приняли участие:

Председатель Совета Министров СССР Н.А. Булганин,

Член Президиума Верховного Совета СССР Н.С. Хрущев,

Первый Заместитель Председателя Совета Министров СССР А.И. Микоян,

Первый Заместитель Министра Иностранных Дел СССР А.А. Громыко и

Заместитель Министра Иностранных Дел СССР Н.Т. Федоренко.

Со стороны Японии в переговорах участвовали:

Премьер-Министр Хатояма Ициро,

Министр Земледелия и Лесоводства Коно Ициро и

Депутат Палаты Представителей Мацумото Сюнити.

В ходе переговоров, проходивших в обстановке взаимопонимания и сотрудничества, состоялся широкий и откровенный обмен мнениями по вопросам взаимоотношений между Союзом Советских Социалистических Республик и Японией. Союз Советских Социалистических Республик и Япония полностью согласились, что восстановление дипломатических отношений между ними будет служить развитию взаимопонимания и сотрудничества между обоими государствами в интересах мира и безопасности на Дальнем Востоке.

"Joint Declaration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan," Presidential Library, accessed January 25, 2025. https://www.prlib.ru/en/node/370124.

9. Союз Советских Социалистических Республик и Япония согласились на продолжение после восстановления нормальных дипломатических отношений между Союзом Советских Социалистических Республик и Японией переговоров о заключении Мирного Договора.

При этом Союз Советских Социалистических Республик, идя навстречу пожеланиям Японии и учитывая интересы японского государства, соглашается на передачу Японии островов Хабомаи и острова Сикотан с тем, однако, что фактическая передача этих островов Японии будет произведена после заключения Мирного Договора между Союзом Советских Социалистических Республик и Японией.

5.

В удостоверение вышеизложенного нижеподписавшиеся Уполномоченные подписали настоящую Совместную Декларацию.

Составлена в двух экземплярах, каждый на русском и японском языках, причем оба текста имеют одинаковую силу.

Москва, 19 октября 1956 года.

По уполномочию
Президиума Верховного Совета
Союза Советских Социалистических Республик

По уполномочию
Правительства Японии

ソヴィエト社会主義共和国連邦と日本国との共同宣言

千九百五十六年十月十三日から十九日までモスクワで、ソヴィエト社会主義共和国連邦及び日本国の全権団の間で交渉が行われた。

ソヴィエト社会主義共和国連邦側からは、

ソヴィエト連邦大臣会議議長　エヌ・ア・ブルガーニン

ソヴィエト連邦最高会議幹部会員　エヌ・エス・フルシチョフ

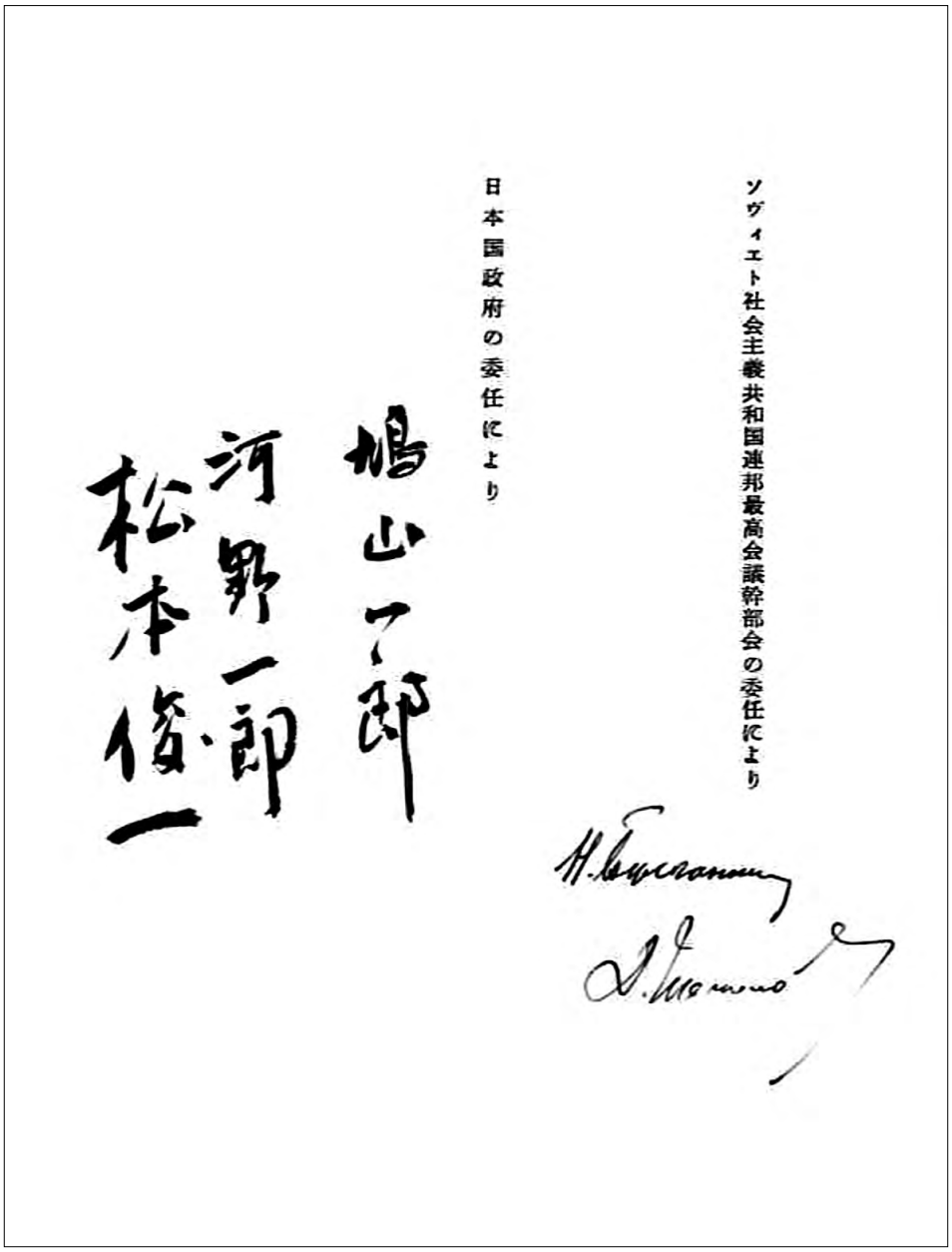
ソヴィエト連邦大臣会議議長第一代理　ア・イ・ミコヤン

ソヴィエト連邦第一外務次官　ア・ア・グロムィコ

ソヴィエト連邦外務次官　エヌ・テ・フェドレンコ

が参加し、

日本国側からは、


ソヴィエト社会主義共和国連邦最高会議幹部会の委任により

日本国政府の委任により

鳩山一郎

河野一郎

松本俊一

/Перевод/

19 декабря 1956 года

Господин Председатель,

От имени японского правительства и японского народа, имею честь выразить Вам и Вашему правительству глубокую благодарность за то, что 12-го декабря 1956 года на заседании Совета Безопасности Организации Об"единенных Наций, обсуждавшем просьбу Японии о приеме ее в число членов ООН, представители Советского Союза в ООН поддержали принятие Японии в ООН, и далее 18-го декабря того же года на пленарном заседании Генеральной Ассамблеи, рассмотревшем проект резолюции о принятии Японии в ООН, Советский Союз, выступив как одна из стран-инициаторов упомянутого проекта резолюции, стоял за принятие такового при голосовании.

Пользуюсь случаем, чтобы возобновить перед Вами, господин Председатель, уверения в самом высоком к Вам уважении.

ИЧИРО ХАТОЯМА

Премьер-Министр Японии

Его Превосходительству
Господину Н.А.Булганину
Председателю Совета Министров Союза Советских Социалистических Республик

/Перевод/

19 декабря 1956 года

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ИИИРС ХАТОЯМА

Премьер-Министр Японии

Его Превосходительству
Господину Н.А.Булганину
Председателю Совета Министров Союза Советских Социалистических Республик

"Letter from Prime Minister of Japan I. Hatoyama to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR NA Bulganin expressing gratitude for the support of Japan's request to join the UN," Presidential Library, accessed January 26, 2025, https://www.prlib.ru/en/node/357515.

CHRONOLOGY

YEAR	DATE	INCIDENT
1786		Mogami Tokunai organized an expedition to Kuril Islands.
1796		Russian Empire marked the Kuril Islands as part of its territory on official maps.
1853	*Jul 14*	American Black Ships arrived at Uraga Bay.
1855	*Feb 07*	Treaty of Shimoda was signed with the Russian Empire.
1858	*Jul 29*	Harris Treaty (Treaty of Amity and Commerce) was signed with United States.
1875	*Apr 25*	Treaty of Saint Petersburg was signed with Russian Empire.
1904	*Feb 08*	Russo-Japanese War
1905	*Sep 05*	Russo-Japanese War ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth.
1917	*Nov 07*	October Revolution took place in Russia.
1922	*Oct 25*	Russian Civil War ended.
1925	*Jan 20*	Treaty of Beijing was signed, and Japan-USSR relations began.
1939	*Sep 01*	World War II started.
1941	*Apr 13*	USSR-Japan Non-Aggression Pact was signed.
1941	*Aug 14*	Atlantic Charter was issued.
1941	*Sep 24*	USSR signed the Atlantic Charter.
1941	*Dec 07*	Pearl Harbor attack occurred.
1943	*Nov 22-Nov 26*	Cairo Conference was held.
1943	*Nov 27*	Cairo Declaration was issued.
1943	*Nov28-Dec 01*	Tehran Conference was held.
1945	*Feb 4-Feb 11*	Yalta Conference was held.
1945	*Feb 11*	Yalta Agreement was reached.
1945	*Apr 01*	Battle of Okinawa began.
1945	*Apr 05*	United States Military Administration of the Ryukyu Islands was established in Yomitan Village.
1945	*Jun 22*	Battle of Okinawa ended.
1945	*Jun 26*	UN Charter was signed.

1945	*July 26*	Potsdam Declaration was issued.
1945	*Aug 06*	The "Little Boy" atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.
1945	*Aug 08*	USSR joined the Cairo Declaration.
1945	*Aug 09*	Second atomic bomb, "Fat Man," was dropped on Nagasaki.
1945	*Aug 09*	USSR declared war on Japan
1945	*Aug 15*	Truman's General Order No. 1 was issued.
1945	*Aug 18*	Battle of Shumshu took place.
1945	*Sep 02*	World War II ended with Japan's surrender.
1945	*Oct 24*	UN Charter came into force.
1946	*Jan 29*	SCAPIN-677 was issued.
1950	*June 25*	Korean War began.
1950	*Dec 15*	United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands was established, with Naha as the capital city.
1951	*Sep 08*	San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed.
1951	*Sep 08*	U.S.-Japan Security Treaty was signed.
1953	*July 27*	Korean War ended.
1953	*Dec 25*	Amami Islands were returned to Japan.
1954	*Dec 10*	Ichiro Hatoyama government was formed.
1955	*Nov 01*	Vietnam War began.
1956	*Jul*	Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu Mamoru went to Moscow.
1956	*Aug 19*	Shigemitsu and Dulles discussed the status of the Kuril Islands.
1956	*Oct 07*	Hatoyama's delegation organized a visit to Moscow.
1956	*Oct 19*	Japan and the USSR signed the USSR-Japan Joint Declaration.
1956	*Dec 12*	USSR-Japan Joint Declaration came into force.
1956	*Dec 18*	Japan joined the United Nations.
1956	*Dec 19*	Hatoyama sent a letter of gratitude to Bulganin.
1956	*Dec 23*	Hatoyama government resigned.
1956	*Dec 23*	Tanzan Ishibashi government took office.

1959	*Mar 20*	Japanese government officially defined the Northern Territory as the Habomai Islands, Shikotan, Kunashiri, and Etorofu.
1960	*Jan 19*	Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between United States and Japan was signed.
1961	*Apr 01*	Act on Special Measures for Former Northern Territory Fisheries Rights Holders was enacted.
1965	*Aug 19*	Japanese Prime Minister Sato visited Okinawa.
1968	*Apr 05*	Japan and the United States signed an agreement on the return of the Ogasawara Islands.
1968	*Jun 26*	Ogasawara Islands were returned to mainland Japan.
1969	*May 22*	A government-established Northern Territories Issue Association was founded.
1969	*Nov 21*	Japan-US Joint Statement announced an agreement on the return of Okinawa.
1971	*Jun 17*	Okinawa Reversion Agreement was signed.
1972	*May 15*	United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands ended with the exchange ceremony of the Okinawa's return to Japan.
1975	*May 15*	Vietnam War ended.
1993	*Oct 13*	Tokyo Declaration was issued.
2001	*Mar 25*	Irkutsk Statement was issued.
2010	*Nov 01*	President of Russian Federation D.A. Medvedev visited Kunashir.
2016	*Dec 15*	Abe-Putin Summit was held in Nagato.
2018	*Dec 01*	Japan-Russia Summit Meeting was held at the G20.
2022	*Apr 05*	Japan-Russia peace treaty talks were suspended.

Resistance Against the State: A Study on the Defense of Academic Freedom in Pre-War Japan through the Takigawa Incident

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Introduction

Establishing universities was a crucial step in Meiji Japan's modernization and its evolution into a modern nation-state. Japan, which had maintained a policy of isolation for over 250 years, lacked sufficient import of new knowledge and technical skills as it modernized. In 1868, just three months into the new regime, three intellectuals were appointed to the Bureau of Internal Affairs and tasked with drafting a comprehensive higher-education policy. Nine years after this appointment, in 1877, the Japanese government founded the Tokyo University to meet the ever-growing needs of the new state. The Foundation of Tokyo University marked the beginning of a perpetual conflict between the Japanese Academy and the government. Since the Meiji period, the Japanese government has maintained a strong stance toward universities. Academic autonomy, which was threatened by the dismissal of Professor Tomizu Hiroto from the University of Tokyo by the government in 1905, seemed to have a resurgence in 1918. However, it faced severe challenges in the 1930s because of pressure from the military government. The Japanese academia suffered immensely, especially after the Peace Preservation Law (治安維持法), which came into force in 1925, gave Special Higher Police the power to oppress alleged Socialists and Communists and criminalized

Socialism as an ideology, significantly impacting the academic community.[1] In 1932, Takigawa Yukitoki, a law professor at Kyoto University, was fired because of his alleged communist tendencies. It sparked quite a controversy among the academia as it started a big wave of protests within and outside of the campus. Kyoto Imperial University and Tokyo Imperial University faculty members issued declarations, and students gathered to support their professors. Professors, students, and graduates held symposiums aiming to defend the autonomy of Kyoto Imperial University and Professor Takigawa. Protests were successful in 1905, when the government fired Tokyo University law professor Tomizu Hiroto and again in the 1913 Sawayanagi Incident. However, the government did not step back this time, and the decision to fire Professor Takigawa remained in force.

This study aims to understand the struggle for academic freedom in pre-war Japan through the Takigawa Incident. Within the scope of this study, it will be discussed whether the academia was in support of Professor Takigawa or was just a tiny minority resisting state oppression. This study will be based on analysis of primary sources such as conference reports on the Kyoto Issue (京大問題) by academicians, students, and graduates; official state documents, and contemporary writings as well as secondary sources written on the history of Japanese academia and universities. The first part will be a description of the foundation of modern universities in Japan and a historical outline to understand the overall situation of the universities. Subsequently, academia's fight to assert its dominance will be explored. Afterward, the Takigawa Incident and, briefly, other incidents of oppression and academic reactions will be clarified with a strong focus on the conference papers, declarations, and official government documents.

I. Founding Modern Universities

In the first few years of the Meiji era, three main scholarly groups competed for the new regime's patronage. Strong Confucian scholars who served under the Tokugawa regime were the strongest in the first half of the 19th century,

1 Person, "International Nationalisms and the Suppression of Socialism," in *Arbiters of Patriotism: Right-Wing Scholars in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020), pp. 64-87. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv105b9n9.7. p. 87.

followed by nativist scholars and Western scholars, who were smaller in number. The Meiji Restoration required immense expertise to modernize the country, which Japan lacked at the time. Thus, the new regime, under the leadership of the Meiji government, focused on Western higher education to train and educate state officials, engineers, and elites. This proactive approach of the Meiji government in the early 1870s, which focused on higher education to compete with Western countries' technology, can be seen as a significant step towards modernization. One can even claim that modern higher education in Japan was a state project. In 1868, the Meiji government tasked three elites to create draft for a new higher education system to address the need for modern academic institutions.[2] The primary source of inspiration was the German model of higher education to some extent. Experts have extensively studied the German model, especially their roles in training government officials. In 1877, Kaisei Gakko, a prominent school teaching Western studies under the Ministry of Education, was modernized and named Tokyo Daigaku (Tokyo University). This process of modernization and consolidation continued in the following years, with many schools under the ministries merging with Tokyo University, starting with the College of Western Medicine in 1877. In 1886, it absorbed many other schools and was designated *Teikoku Daigaku*, meaning Imperial University.

Following the establishment of Tokyo Imperial University, the Meiji government continued its efforts to expand higher education in Japan. This commitment to education was a key part of the government's broader strategy for modernization. It led to the establishment of other Imperial Universities, including Kyoto Imperial University in 1897, Tohoku Imperial University in 1907, and Kyushu University in 1910. In total, the Japanese Empire established nine imperial universities from 1877 to 1939, including two imperial universities outside of mainland Japan. Keijo Imperial University in Seoul, Korea, ceased to exist after the war, unlike Taihokoku Imperial University in Taipei, Taiwan, which was renamed National Taiwan University. However, these are beyond the scope of this study. Hence, there will be no explanation for these universities. It is worth noting that most academicians

2 Marshall, "Professors and Politics: The Meiji Academic Elite," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3, no. 1 (1977), pp. 75. https://doi.org/10.2307/132013. p. 73.

during the early years of modern universities were foreigners, as there were not enough Japanese specialists on most topics. These foreign professors played a crucial role in introducing global knowledge and perspectives into Japanese academia. To address this, the Japanese government initiated and restarted projects to send students to overseas countries, mainly to the United States of America and Western European countries. These projects gave fruit in less than three decades. In 1877, 27 out of 41 professors at Tokyo University were foreigners, whereas in 1890, only 32 out of 126 professors were foreigners.[3] In the early 20th century, factionalism was recognized as a common phenomenon, often rooted in personal connections such as local ties, school experiences, or mentor-student relationships—traces of which are frequently seen as remnants of the feudal era.[4, 5] That enabled family members to work in the same department. Tokyo Imperial University's early history is full of these kinds of incidents.

II. Making of a Free Academia

As previously stated, Japanese universities were a state project to train specialists in the new regime. Many professors were once students who benefited from the government's overseas scholarships and were appointed by the government. Most academicians supported government policies to modernize the country and worked in that direction. Even though the goal was to create a higher education system to serve state interests in modernizing the country, academia did not fully accept every policy. Some elites always rejected government authority over the universities. From the beginning of the process, the German idea of *lehrfreiheit* (academic freedom) was known by academic circles. As early as 1883, the role of the Ministry of Education in overseeing Tokyo University was a topic of discussion. Fukuzawa Yukuchi, the Meiji elite and educator who established a school that grew to be Keio University, wrote a series of editorials in a newspaper titled "Scholarship and

3 Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University*, 1868-1939. 1st ed. University of California Press, 1992, p. 32.

4 Marshall, "Academic Factionalism in Japan: The Case of the Tōdai Economics Department, 1919-1939," *Modern Asian Studies* 12, no. 4 (1978), p. 114.

5 Figures do not include Japanese lecturers other than full-time professors at Tokyo University but includes all foreigners regardless of their rank.

Politics Should be Separated" in 1883 to attack state policy of control.[6] In 1888, young professors who returned from the West demanded more autonomy for the university. They met with ministers and other government officials to demand the creation of a European-style arrangement for the university, where faculty participation would be crucial for the university's decision-making process but was rejected. (Marshall, tradition, and conflict 388-9). This rejection was not enough to stop pro-academic freedom groups. Just one year after this proposal, in 1889, the Education Minister was assassinated, and two months after the assassination, the most potent Tokyo University professors pushed for more autonomous faculties where all professors were empowered and state control was restricted. This proposal did not receive an immediate response from the government, but university autonomy substantially increased over time.[7]

One of the most famous incidents of the academy-government conflict occurred in 1905, when the Ministry of Education fired Tokyo University Law Professor Tomizu Hiroto due to his criticism of the government during and after the Russo-Japanese War. Professor Tomizu's situation was unusual, as he was a pro-government academician on Japanese expansion in East Asia. He was an advocate of Japanese control over Korea as well as Manchuria, and advocated for Russia to withdraw from the lands in East Asia to Lake Baikal in the early 1900s.[8] Under Tomizu's leadership, a group of six professors and later a seventh, publicly articulated their opinions on Japanese hegemony in East Asia. Their opinion was usually not supported or endorsed by the Japanese government, but their position as Tokyo University professors made it appear that their opinion was that of the Japanese government. The Japanese public labeled this conflict between academics and the government as Affairs of the Seven PhDs (*shichi hakaese jiken*).[9] When the Russo-Japanese War started in 1904, Tomizu and his group immediately promoted Japanese control over Manchuria and had many interviews on the issue. Prime Minister Katsura Taro warned them of their positions many times. The possibility

6 Marshall, "The Tradition of Conflict in the Governance of Japan's Imperial Universities," *History of Education Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1977), p. 385.
7 Ibid, p. 389.
8 Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University*, 1868-1939 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 8.
9 Ibid, p. 10.

of the government's unwillingness to push more demands on the Russian Empire after the war was the final straw for Professor Tomizu and his group. Tomizu's article on this issue was the final hit on academy-government relations, which led to his suspension from the university by the Ministry of Education;

> *"If the terms of a Russo-Japanese peace settlement differ greatly from these arguments, we and others of the nation's men of high purpose have set forth, then it probably will be impossible to avoid disorders within Japan."*[10]

Tokyo University administration and academicians did not accept the ministry's decision. The president of Tokyo Imperial University, Yamakawa Kenjiro, resigned in the defense of Professor Tomizu, and many professors from Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University protested this decision. The ministry took no action against this resignation, and President Yamakawa remained in his position. Professor Tomizu's predictions, which turned out to be primarily correct after the Portsmouth Treaty and the Japanese public's outrage, kept the Japanese government busy. Tokyo Imperial University faculty members held a meeting and voted for Professor Tomizu to stay in his position, which he did.[11] The government could not react to these developments, and it was seen as a government defeat against the university. Further attempts by the government to solve the Tomizu issue did not achieve anything, and it ended with the Katsura cabinet's resignation due to months of turmoil in the country.

In the years that followed, academic freedom blossomed. Japanese universities felt that they had established a secure sense of autonomy on their campuses as self-governing practices became routine in the late 1910s and the early 1920s. However, the academy's feeling of safety proved to be naive, as in 1925, the National Diet passed new legislation named "Peace Preservation Law" (治安維持法) to fight against so-called Marxist danger.

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10 "Kowa no jikki hatashite haritaru ya," Gaiko jiho 192 (July 10,1905), pp. 174-179; cited in ibid., p. 15.

11 Ibid, p. 17.

III. Attack on Universities – Kyodai Jiken

Until the 1930s, the government strengthened its grip on academia. The Peace Preservation Law of 1925 was, in many ways, the beginning of the end of academic freedom in Japan. The 1930s are remembered as the purge of universities and as the home to many incidents of state oppression of academic life. The Takigawa Incident (滝川事件), also known as Kyodai Incident, was one of the biggest of these similar incidents. It stemmed from Kyoto Imperial University Law Professor Yukitoki Takigawa's speech at Chuo University in 1932. Professor Takigawa was invited to a panel at Chuo University with a professor from Tokyo Imperial University and a representative from the High Court, and he gave a speech that led to his dismissal from Kyodai (an acronym for Kyoto Imperial University). Professor Takigawa argued for the need to understand the social causes of crimes by referencing Tolstoy's book Resurrection.[12] Takigawa's interpretation of criminal law angered the Ministry of Justice, and soon, they accused him of having communist tendencies and started to attack Professor Takigawa. Some officials immediately requested his dismissal from Kyoto Imperial University and blamed him for brainwashing the Japanese youth. Justice Minister Koyama Matsukichi contacted Education Minister Hatoyama Ichiro, expressing his displeasure with the situation and requesting that the Ministry of Education take action.

The Ministry of Education did not take action immediately, but the Ministry of Justice and right-wing supporters pressured Hatoyama Ichiro to take action against Professor Takigawa. The Ministry of Education sent a written inquiry to Kyoto Imperial University, which was then answered by Kyodai's law chairman, Miyamoto Hideo. According to Kyoto Imperial University, no legal action was required, since neither Takigawa Yukitoki's speech nor Tolstoy's book had any illegal implications. However, the answer did not satisfy the right-wing media and politicians, and they pushed to punish Takigawa. He was labeled as a 'Red Professor' by the right-wing public, and his dismissal was a must for many. This led the government to ban Takigawa's books in early 1933.[13] The Ministry of Education summoned the Kyoto Imperial University President and informed him to remove

12 Ibid, p. 147.
13 Ibid, p. 153.

Takigawa Yukitoki by official suspension, if not by resignation, as he was seen as having a bad influence on the students and the public. The Kyoto Imperial University President Konishi Shigenao rejected these claims and defended Professor Takigawa, stating that neither Takigawa's speech nor his books were illegal. Ministry of Education warned Konishi about the possible results if Takigawa continued his position at Kyoto Imperial University, but Konishi was determined to defend Takigawa and resist all pressures.

Kyoto Imperial University, at least its administration and law faculty, was determined to defend Takigawa. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Education felt that it had no choice but to remove Takigawa Yukitoki from Kyoto Imperial University. The ministry informed the Kyoto Imperial University administration that they decided to assemble a personnel regulations review board to decide Takigawa's fate. This was the first incident in which this procedure was applied to an Imperial University professor.[14] This was accompanied by the Kyoto Law Faculty issuing a formal protest to the Ministry of Education. From then on, Kyoto Imperial University was ready for a full-scale confrontation with the government. However, the Ministry of Education was sure that there was no option other than dismissing Takigawa Yukitoki from his duties. The ministry insisted that the dismissal of Takigawawa was necessary to protect the progress of the scholarship. However, it was evident that the faculty members would not accept any attacks on the university. In May 1933, the Personnel Regulations Review Board recommended the suspension of the Takigawa Yukitoki.

IV. A House Divided: The Fight for Academic Freedom

To begin the discussion of resistance, it is important to clarify who the academy was fighting against. Like-minded right-wing public figures insisted on the attack on Takigawa Yukitoki. One of the most prominent ones was Takigawa's colleague, Minoda Muneki, who taught philosophy at Keio University. Minoda was a prominent ideologue of the new authoritarian regime in Japan. He was the leading figure in the attacks on many Marxist and Liberal figures in society. Takigawa was not his only target; he attacked professors at Tokyo

14 Ibid, p. 150.

Imperial University, but Minoda had a history with Takigawa 4 years before Takigawa's dismissal. In 1929, students invited Minoda Muneki to Kyoto Imperial University to give a speech on his criticism of Marx and the Russian Revolution. However, his speech was interrupted by loud protests claimed to be started by Takigawa's students.[15]

Under these circumstances, a united voice was necessary to defend the university's autonomy. Upon receiving the news, the Law Faculty of Kyoto Imperial University announced the cancellation of all classes, and the entire department, from chairman to graduate assistants, resigned in protest of the decision.[16] Kyoto Imperial University Faculty members continued to assert that the Ministry of Education's claims on Takigawa were wrong and that its actions were an attack on the academia. Faculty members of Imperial Universities, particularly those at Tokyo and Kyoto, were staunch supporters of academic freedom. They advocated for faculties to have greater power in the decision-making process.

Students also supported the professors' actions. Students boycotted the classes that were not cancelled and called for protest on the campus. Their protests met with attacks from right-wing students, but Takigawa supporters continued to protest. These events demonstrate that the Takigawa Incident was no longer merely an academic debate but had instead caused polarization on campus. Alumni also made every effort to support the cause and sought to inform the public about the issue. Students and alumni claimed that the victory against the Ministry of Education in the Sawayanagi Incident, twenty years earlier, served as a precedent and made this known to the public.[17] Beyond the campus, students took their protests to the streets of Kyoto, holding large demonstrations and public gatherings to raise awareness about the government's encroachment on academic institutions. They submitted formal petitions to university authorities, demanding Takigawa's reinstatement and condemning the broader suppression of academic

15 Person, "International Nationalisms and the Suppression of Socialism," p. 85.

16 Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University*, p. 152.

17 The Sawayanagi Incident in 1913 at Kyoto Imperial University highlighted the conflict between university autonomy and government intervention, triggered by President Sawayanagi Masatarō's attempt to remove several senior professors. This led to strong resistance from the faculty, culminating in a victory for academic freedom and setting a precedent for future university governance.

discourse. The same year, the students held Kyoto Imperial University All-Faculty Student Representative Council (*Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Zengakubu Gakusei Daihyōsha Kaigi*) and released their opinion on the matter to support Professor Takigawa. Students demanded to revoke the decision of Professor Takigawa's dismissal claiming and calling for a university-wide boycott of all the classes until their demand accepted by the government.[18] Students were some of the victims of the authoritarian regime of Japan as they had been oppressed since 1925. A student organization called *Shinjinkai* (New Man Society) was active from 1918 to 1925 and promoted ideas considered left-leaning, such as unionization, social democracy, and even anarchism.[19] They were one of the first victims of the Peace Preservation Law and were oppressed immediately after the law was enacted. Shinjinkai's fate was the same as Japanese Communist Party, who was founded in 1922. Until 1930, the Japanese government suppressed any communist or event left-linked movement.[20]

Tokyo Imperial University students also organized rallies to protest the government's decision. The Tomizu Incident in 1905 and the Sawayanagi Incident in 1913 were a testament to preserving academic unity by being united. Kyoto Imperial University's hope was a continuation of this unity against government oppression, but Tokyo Imperial University's reaction was very mild. Tokyo Economics and Law Faculty members wrote a letter to the government to reinstate Takigawa, and the university issued a written protest, but there was no further attempt to support their sister university. Students and some faculty members demanded strong support for Kyoto Imperial University, but the university administration overlooked their demands. These two universities' unity was one of the main reasons university autonomy was successfully defended in 1913; but this time, there was no strong unity between universities. Many Tokyo Imperial University members saw Takigawa Yukitoki's issue as a personal matter between Takigawa

18 Kyoto Teikoku Daigaku Zengakubu Gakusei Daihyōsha Kaigi (hen), *Kyōdai Mondai no Shinsō*, Seikei Shoin, 1933. Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Dejitaru Korekushon. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/1454273 (sanshō 2025-02-12).

19 DeWitt Smith, "The Origins of Student Radicalism in Japan," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5, no. 1 (1970), p. 90.

20 Person, "Surveilling the Right," in *Arbiters of Patriotism: Right-Wing Scholars in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020), pp. 88-120. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv105b9n9.8. p. 88.

and the government. One of the other reasons for the lack of support from Tokyo Imperial University was their distinct identities. In 1913, these two universities were closer in many aspects, but the last two decades resulted in both universities developing separate identities.[21] Tokyo saw itself as superior and looked down on Kyoto's faculty members due to many disagreements on academic and ideologic points.[22] Tokyo's Law and Economics departments had many liberal and Marxist professors, some of whom even defended university autonomy in 1913. Many liberals and Marxists blame Tokyo Imperial University faculty members for not living up to their ideals. Their lack of support made it easy to target Professor Takigawa, which was the first decisive attack on university autonomy, but other universities did not understand the consequences of their lack of support.

In 1933, some writers, scholars, and other intellectual groups tried to form a united front against government oppression and established *Gakugei Jiyū Dōmei* (Alliance for Freedom in Academic Research and the Arts); but it was shut down in 1935 due to a government crackdown.[23] Gakugei Jiyū Dōmei was an alliance for academic freedom and against fascism. They protested many decisions of the Japanese government against freedom of speech and freedom of science. Home Ministry Police Affairs Bureau's reports on Gakugei Jiyū Dōmei mainly focused on their critics of Nazi book burnings.[24] Scholars widely argue Gakugei Jiyū Dōmei's impact, but it is clear that they did not have as much support as they expected or needed to counter government oppression. One of the prominent Marxists in 1930s Japan, Jun Tosaka makes a comment on the Association.

> *"Alliance for Freedom in Academic Research and the Arts, which should have launched the most powerful counter-movement against this fascist movement, has achieved almost no success and has become nothing more than a mere name."*[25]

21 Marshall, *Academic Freedom and The Japanese Imperial University*, p. 154.
22 Marshall, *Professors and Politics*, p. 97.
23 Tansman, *The Culture of Japanese Fascism* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2009). p. 60.
24 Naimushō Keihokyoku (hen), *Shakai Undō no Jōkyō* [Dai 15], Nihon Shiryō Kankōkai, [19--]. Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Dejitaru Korekushon. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/1903445 (sanshō 2025-02-11), p. 224.
25 Tosaka Jun, "Nihon Ideorogī-ron: Gendai Nihon ni okeru Nihonshugi, Fasshizumu, Jiyūshugi", Shisō no Hihan, Hakuyōsha, Shō 11. Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Dejitaru Korekushon https://

Many more resistance circles, such as the Leftist magazine Doyoubi, were founded in Kyoto and Tokyo. Doyoubi, too, was mainly against fascism and advocated for a free society, but due to the government's crackdown, they ceased to exist in the late 1930s.

It should be noted that the government needed a scapegoat to relieve the pressure on their shoulders. Right-wing elites and intellectuals were pushing for imperial university professors to be punished for their opinions. Thanks to the 1925 Peace Preservation Law, communist ideas were suppressed in the political landscape, but that was not enough for the prominent right-wing supporters. Tokyo Imperial University had stronger political ties than Kyoto Imperial University, so Professor Takigawa Yukitoki was an easier target than his colleagues in Tokyo. The Takigawa Incident was the beginning of the end of academic autonomy in Japan, but other Imperial University professors were slow to understand the consequences. Their lack of support for Takigawa brought many more attacks and purges on universities, such as the Minobe Incident in 1935.

V. Conclusion

Japanese universities were founded to meet the needs of the new regime in Japan. Their purpose to exist in the first place was to strengthen the new regime. The first university in Japan, Tokyo Imperial University, was founded on the German university model in 1877. Many other Imperial Universities, such as Kyoto, Tohoku, and Kyushu followed Tokyo Imperial University. Imperial Universities, at first, were tightly controlled by the government. These universities were essential part of Japanese modernization process since they provided much needed technical education and trained bureaucrats for the state.[26] However, universities fought back for their autonomy on many occasions, especially in 1905 and 1913. Academic autonomy in Japan resulted from the Japanese academy's resistance to the government. In 1913, Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial University faculty members resisted government interventions on the campuses together. This resistance translated into more

dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/1222260 (sanshō 2025-02-12). p. 177.

26 Bartholomew, "Japanese Modernization and the Imperial Universities, 1876-1920," T*he Journal of Asian Studies* 37, no. 2 (1978): 251, https://doi.org/10.2307/2054165. https://doi.org/10.2307/2054165.

autonomy for universities. Japanese universities benefited from a period of autonomy until 1925 when the government enacted the Peace Preservation Law. Peace Preservation Law allowed the state to suppress communist activities within the country.

The Takigawa Incident marked a turning point for not only academic autonomy in Japan but the general political landscape. Government oppression of communists transformed into an attack on freedom of speech. Kyoto Imperial University Law Professor Takigawa Yukitoki's speech on the root of crime was used as an excuse to label him as a communist. While the Law Faculty and university administration, students, and alumni defended Takigawa, claiming the attacks on him were attacks on university autonomy, other scholarly circles did not show much support. Many Right-Wing academicians, such as Professor Minoda Muneki of Keio University, attacked Professor Takigawa, and Takigawa's like-minded colleagues at Tokyo Imperial University showed little to no support. Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities developed different identities over time, which led to irritation among some Tokyo Imperial University faculty members. This lack of support led to a weak resistance within the campuses and ended with the dismissal of Professor Takigawa.

The Takigawa Incident was a decisive point in Japanese academic history. It was one of the first attacks on university autonomy, and academia's inability to defend Professor Takigawa led to more attacks on universities, leading to the famous academic purges in the second half of the 1930s.

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Person, John. "International Nationalisms and the Suppression of Socialism," in Arbiters of Patriotism: Right-Wing Scholars in Imperial Japan, pp. 64-87. University of Hawai'i Press, 2020. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv105b9n9.7.

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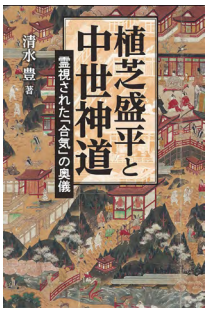
SELECTED RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN JAPAN ON RELIGION*

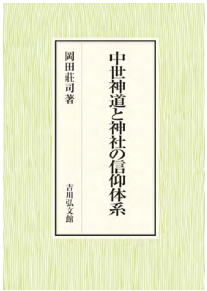
Title	Author	Publisher	Cover	Details About	2024
神道の近代: 変貌し拡がりゆく神々 *Shintō no Kindai: Henbōshi Hirogariyuku* [The Modern Age of Shinto: Transforming and Expanding Deities]	井上順孝 (Nobutaka Inoue)	春秋社 (Shunjunsha Publishing)		This comprehensive work by an author renowned for writing on Shinto, from introductory guides to in-depth studies of Shinto, offers a thorough exploration of the subject. It examines the impact of Shinto's institutionalization during the Meiji era, including the emergence of Shinto as an independent entity and the foundation of Shinto-inspired new religions. The book also explores how Shinto practices extended beyond the confines of shrines and addresses contemporary challenges facing Shinto today. What defines the characteristics of modern Shinto? This question forms the core of the book's inquiry	2021
神道の聖地を訪ねる! 日本の神々と神社 *Shintō no Seichi o Tazuneru! Nihon no Kamigami to Jinja* [Visiting the Sacred Sites of Shinto! Japanese Deities and Shrines]	三橋健 (Takeshi Mitsuhashi)	青春出版社 (Seishun Publishing)		What are the origins of Japan's deities, and how do the beliefs surrounding Ise, Izumo, Itsukushima, Inari, and Hachiman differ? This book delves into these questions, offering readers deeper insights into the spiritual significance of Japan's sacred sites. By understanding the historical and cultural background of these deities, visiting these places can become even more meaningful. Richly illustrated with diagrams and photographs, the book traces the spiritual roots of the Japanese people, making it a captivating guide to Japan's divine heritage.	2022

* Prepared by Kamil Gadirli.

神道の中世-伊勢神宮・吉田神道・中世日本紀 *Shintō no Chūsei - Ise Jingū, Yoshida Shintō, Chūsei Nihonki* [The Middle Ages of Shinto: Ise Jingu, Yoshida Shinto, and Medieval Nihongi]	伊藤 聡 (Satoshi Itō)	中央公論新社 (Chuokoron Shinsha)		Shinto has evolved by incorporating elements from various beliefs and cultural practices throughout history, including Buddhism. This book explores what can be understood about Shinto's unique identity through its connection to Amaterasu worship, as well as its influence on traditional arts like waka poetry and Noh theater. It offers a fresh perspective on how Shinto has shaped and been shaped by Japan's diverse spiritual and cultural landscape.	2020
植芝盛平と中世神道 霊視された「合気」の奥儀 *Ueshiba Morihei to Chūsei Shintō: Reishi Sareta 'Aiki' no Ōgi* [Morihei Ueshiba and Medieval Shinto: The Inner Rituals of "Aiki" Revealed]	清水 豊 (Shimizu Yutaka)	ビイング・ネット・プレス (Being Net Press BNP)		How did Morihei Ueshiba, the founder of Aikido, perceive the spiritual insights of medieval Shinto, often described as a form of mysticism? This book delves into the connection between the spiritual knowledge gained by medieval ascetics through deep meditation and the profound principles of Aikido. It offers a unique interpretation of how these two realms are intricately intertwined, shedding light on the mystical roots of this martial art.	2021

日本神道史 *Nihon Shintōshi* [History of Japanese Shintoism]	岡田荘司 (Shōji Okada) 小林宣彦 (Kobayashi Nobuhiko)	吉川弘文館 (Yoshikawa Kobunkan)		From ancient times, deities have been a spiritual foundation for the Japanese people, deeply embedded in everyday life and playing a significant role in the formation of the nation. This book provides a detailed exploration of essential aspects such as imperial rituals and the nature of deity worship, while also examining the contemporary distribution of shrine-based faiths. Fully revised and updated with new insights on Okinoshima and rituals of the Ritsuryo state since its first publication a decade ago, this edition offers a clearer and more accessible guide. It invites readers into the enduring world of Shinto, which continues to thrive in modern life.	2021
神道はなぜ教えがないのか *Shintō wa Naze Oshie ga Nai no ka* [Why Does Shinto Not Have a Doctrine?]	島田裕巳 (Hiromi Shimada)	扶桑社 (Fusosha Publishing)		Understanding Shinto is key to grasping the worldview and philosophy of life that define the Japanese people. Despite having no founding figure, religious doctrine, or concept of salvation, Shinto remains deeply ingrained in Japanese daily life, transcending the traditional boundaries of religion. This book explores the origins of Shinto, its contrasts with Islam, its connections with Buddhism, and its essence as a “religion of absence.” Through these perspectives, it delves into the unique characteristics of Shinto and traces its historical and cultural development.	2023

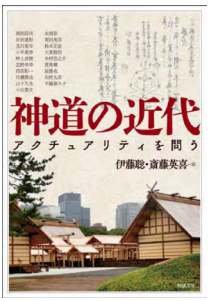
火山と断層から見えた神社のはじまり Kazan to Dansō kara Mieta Jinja no Hajimari [The Beginning of the Shrine as Seen from Volcanoes and Faults]	蒲池明弘 (Akihiro Kamachi)	双葉社 (Futabasha Publishers)		What are the true origins of Japan's grand shrines, predating Shinto itself? This book delves into the geological and mythical significance of sacred sites, exploring luminous minerals, pure springs, and ancient rocks that inspired Japan's early peoples. Linking these sites to tectonic lines, it combines archaeology, mythology, and field research in a concise yet eye-opening analysis.	2024
日本の神社と「神道」 *Nihon no Jinja to 'Shintō'* [Shrines and "Shinto" of Japan]	井上寛司 (Hiroshi Inoue)	法蔵館 (Hozokan)		This comprehensive study examines the historical development and function of Shinto from ancient times to the modern era. It explores the relationship between Shinto and the practices of shrines, shrine rituals, and deity worship in different periods. The work also investigates how the modern perception of Shinto as a naturally developed, uniquely Japanese ethnic religion emerged. By reevaluating the connection between Shinto and shrines, shrine rituals, and deity worship, the book provides a thorough reexamination of these issues from antiquity to the present.	2024

中世神道と神社の信仰体系 *Chūsei Shintō to Jinja no Shinkō Taikei* [Medieval Shinto and the Belief System of Shrines]	岡田莊司 (Shōji Okada)	吉川弘文館 (Yoshikawa Kobunkan)		This study delves into the state of Shinto and shrine worship during the late 12th century, a pivotal period transitioning from Ryobu Shinto to Ise Shinto. Through textual analysis, it examines the formation and evolution of Shinto thought, the establishment of shrine rituals under the Kamakura shogunate, and the path leading to Yoshida Shinto in the early modern period. By exploring the medieval belief in the connection between "deity, humanity, and spirit," the work highlights the foundational structure of Shinto that persists in modern times.	2024
西洋人の神道観—日本人のアイデンティティーを求めて *Seiyōjin no Shintōkan: Nihonjin no Aidentitī o Motomete* [Western Perspectives on Shinto: In Search of Japanese Identity]	平川祐弘 (Sukehiro Hirakawa)	河出書房新社 (Kawade Shobo Shinsha)		Although Japanese people are often described as non-religious, many still visit shrines during New Year and pay respects to their ancestors during Obon. What does Shinto mean to the Japanese? This work explores how Shinto has been understood by Western observers since the Meiji era, offering an international perspective. Revised and expanded by the author for the French edition, this definitive study was awarded the 14th Rennyo Prize.	2024

神と共に歩んだ日本の歴史—神道なくして日本は語れるか *Kami to Tomo ni Ayunda Nihon no Rekishi: Shintō Nakushite Nihon wa Katareru ka* [Japan's History Walked with the Gods: Can Japan Be Told Without Shinto?]	吉田 成隆 (Yoshida Shigetaka)	あさ出版 (Asa Publishing)		This work, written by the current chief priest of Namiuchi Hachiman Shrine, which was established in 604 during the Nara period, explores why the belief in ancient gods and animism has survived through Japan's long history. It examines Shinto from the Jomon and Yayoi periods to the present day, providing insights into Japanese culture, views on nature, and beliefs about life and death. Although Shinto lacks a founder, religious doctrine, or promises of salvation, its faith is deeply embedded in the lives of the Japanese people. Through exploring how the ancient rituals of Japan's gods have survived to the present day, this book offers a reflection on the essence of Shinto and its unique position beyond the confines of traditional religion.	2024
神道・天皇・大嘗祭 *Shintō, Tennō, Daijōsai* [Shinto, the Emperor, and the Daijōsai]	斎藤英喜 (Hideki Saitō)	人文書院 (Jimbun Shoin)		The Daijosai, a royal ritual performed once per reign for emperor succession, symbolizes the emperor's divinity and Japan's traditions. This book examines its origins, evolution, and the debates surrounding it, drawing on sources like the *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki*, and ideas from scholars such as Hirata Atsutane and Orikuchi Shinobu. It provides a thorough analysis of this key ritual in Japanese history.	2024

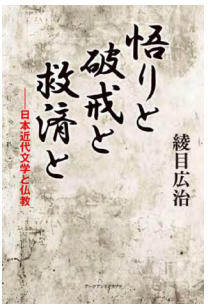
神道の喪葬儀礼と近代 *Shintō no Sōsō Girei to Kindai* [Shinto Funeral Rites and Modernity]	塩川 彩香 (Shiokawa Ayaka)	弘文堂 (Koubundou Publishers)		How did modern Shinto come to be connected with funerary practices? This book challenges previous discourses surrounding Shinto funerals and state funerals, revealing through various historical sources how these practices evolved not from tradition or uniqueness, but in response to social changes.	2024
現代「神道」講座—寛容と共生のこころ *Gendai 'Shintō' Kōza: Kanyō to Kyōsei no Kokoro* [A Modern Lecture on 'Shinto': The Spirit of Tolerance and Coexistence]	藤本 頼生 (Fujimoto Yorio)	佼成出版社 (Kosei Publishing)		This introductory book provides a clear understanding of "shrines" and "Shinto." It explores Shinto's wisdom of coexistence, its role as a foundation of Japanese culture, and the modern functions of shrines. Starting with Japanese mythology, the book examines Shinto's connections with forests, animals, place names, architecture, epidemics, sumo, weather, and more, highlighting its multifaceted nature in an accessible format.	2024

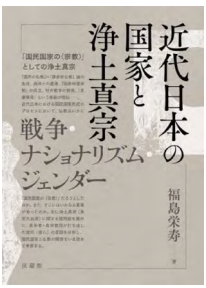
一冊でわかる神道と日本神話—「わが国の起こり」「日本人の心の原点」を読み解く *Issatsu de Wakaru Shintō to Nihon Shinwa: 'Waga Kuni no Okori' 'Nihonjin no Kokoro no Genten' o Yomitoku* [Understand Shinto and Japanese Mythology in One Book: Interpreting 'The Origins of Our Country' and 'The Foundation of the Japanese Spirit]	武光誠 (Makoto Takemitsu)	河出書房新社 (Kawade Shobo Shinsha)		What are the unique characteristics of Shinto, a religion deeply rooted in everyday practices such as New Year's visits and Setsubun rituals? Who are the deities appearing in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, and what deeper meanings lie behind their stories? By understanding Shinto and its mythology, this book offers insights into the essence of Japan and the Japanese people.	2023
古事記と冠婚葬祭—神道と日本人 *Kojiki to Kankonsōsai: Shintō to Nihonjin* [The Kojiki and Ceremonial Rites: Shinto and the Japanese People]	鎌田東二 (Kamata Tōji) 一条真也 (Ichijō Shinya)	現代書林 (Gendai Shorin Publishers)		Mythology and rituals have been essential to human societies throughout history, and this book delves into the unique role of Shinto in shaping Japanese identity. Through an in-depth dialogue between a prominent Shinto scholar and a leading expert on ceremonies, it explores the traditions, practices, and underlying beliefs that have been deeply embedded in the cultural fabric of Japan.	2023

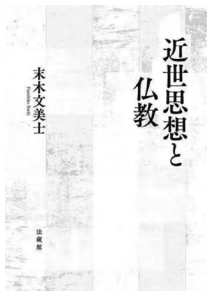
日本人の国民性—神話とDNAからの考察 *Nihonjin no Kokuminsei: Shinwa to DNA kara no Kōsatsu* [The National Character of the Japanese: A Study from Mythology and DNA]	清水 正道 (Shimizu Masamichi)	教育評論社 (Kyoiku Hyoron Sha)		Thousands of years ago, humans who left Africa eventually reached Japan. Isolated from the mainland, the Japanese developed a unique culture, notably the Jomon culture, which lasted for over a millennium. Unlike continental societies, the Japanese did not adopt pastoralism, leading to a distinct national character. This character, reflected in Shinto, emphasizes reverence for nature, coexistence, and altruism, forming the foundation of Japanese identity.	2023
神道の近代—アクチュアリティを問う *Shintō no Kindai: Akuchuaritei o Tou* [Modern Shinto: Questioning Its Actuality]	伊藤 聡 (Satoshi Ito) 斎藤英喜 (Hideki Saitō)	勉誠社 (Benseisha Publishing)		This work bridges the medieval and modern periods, exploring how Shinto evolved in connection with politics and ethnicity. It contrasts medieval, early modern, and modern forms of Shinto, examining the state's relationship with Shinto, national ethics, and new Shinto-related movements. By reexamining Shinto from ancient beliefs to modern national studies, it moves beyond traditional views to reveal the complex structure of Shinto.	2023

明治改暦のゆくえ—近代日本における暦と神道 *Meiji Kairyaku no Yukue: Kindai Nihon ni okeru Reki to Shintō* [The Fate of the Meiji Calendar Reform: The Calendar and Shinto in Modern Japan]	下村 育世 (Shimomura Ikuyo)	ぺりかん社 (Perikansha Publishing)		In 1873, the Japanese government adopted the Gregorian calendar, aligning with Western countries. This decision was not only a sign of "civilization" but also had a "restorationist" aspect, reflecting a search for Japanese tradition. This work examines the historical changes in Japan's modern calendar system, explores its relationship with Shinto, and analyzes the implications and significance of a unified time system in modern Japan.	2023
教養としての神道—生きのびる神々 *Kyōyō toshite no Shintō: Ikinobiru Kamigami* [Shinto as Cultural Knowledge: Surviving Deities]	島薗進 (Susumu Shimazono)	東洋経済新報社 (Toyo Keizai Inc.)		Tracing 1,300 years of Shinto history, this book explores its origins and development. It examines the distinct nature of State Shinto after the Meiji era and considers Shinto's influence on Japanese spiritual culture.	2022
法蔵館文庫 明治維新と宗教 *Hōzōkan Bunko Meiji Ishin to Shūkyō* [Hōzōkan Bunko: The Meiji Restoration and Religion]	羽賀祥二 (Shōji Haga)	法蔵館 (Hozokan)		Amid rapid social change, religion and history played key roles in unifying the people. Focusing on the Meiji government's religious policies, this book examines issues such as war memorials, the commemoration of loyalists, and the preservation of historic temples and shrines. It analyzes how Shinto became embedded in society as a system for shaping a shared national history through various rituals. Now available in a long-awaited paperback edition.	2022

ちくま新書 日本人の神道―神・祭祀・神社の謎を解く *Chikuma Shinsho Nihonjin no Shintō: Kami, Saishi, Jinja no Nazo o Toku* [Chikuma Shinsho: Shinto of the Japanese People – Solving the Mysteries of Gods, Rituals, and Shrines]	島田裕巳 (Hiromi Shimada)	筑摩書房 (Chikuma-shobo)		Shinto, deeply intertwined with our lives from ancient times to the present, has been an essential part of Japanese culture. But have we truly understood the essence of Shinto as a religion? This book examines Shinto's nature as a "religion without a founder, doctrine, or salvation," tracing its development. It explores how the Japanese people have interacted with Shinto, considering the future of its gods, rituals, and faith.	2022
ゴーガンと仏教 *Gōgan to Bukkyō* [Gauguin and Buddhism]	有木宏二 (Ariki Kōji)	みすず書房 (Misuzu Shobo)		Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), known for his vivid depictions of Tahiti, left his career as a stockbroker at 35 to pursue painting. In his final years, he turned to Buddhism, seeking to express the unseen through color. This book explores his writings and letters to reveal the overlooked connection between his art and Buddhist thought. His journey to Polynesia shaped his unique spiritual vision amid colonial rule, war, and disease. In his quest for "nirvana," he ultimately embraced reincarnation, offering a new perspective on his art and beliefs from an Asian viewpoint.	2024
鎌倉時代の幕府と仏教 *Kamakura Jidai no Bakufu to Bukkyō* [The Shogunate and Buddhism in the Kamakura Period]	平雅行 (Masayuki Taira)	塙書房 (Hanawa shobo)		By analyzing the individual achievements of Bakufu monks, this study uncovers the historical realities of the Kamakura Buddhist community. It examines the Kamakura shogunate's religious policies and their historical shifts, offering a comprehensive perspective on the development of Kamakura Buddhism.	2024

悟りと破戒と救済と―日本近代文学と仏教 *Satori to Hakai to Kyūsai to: Nihon Kindai Bungaku to Bukkyō* [Enlightenment, Transgression, and Salvation: Modern Japanese Literature and Buddhism]	綾目広治 (Hiroharu Ayame)	アーツ・アンド・クラフツ (Arts & Crafts)		What is “life,” “self,” and “salvation”? This study explores the works of ten writers, deeply influenced by Buddhism from the Taishō era to the present, analyzing the intersection of literature and religion.	2024
法藏館文庫 仏教と陽明学 *Hōzōkan Bunko Bukkyō to Yōmeigaku* [Hōzōkan Bunko: Buddhism and Yangmingism]	荒木見悟 (Kengo Araki)	法藏館 (Hozokan)		This book unravels the complex thoughts of the Ming Dynasty, explaining concepts such as “heart is reason” and “unity of knowledge and action,” to clarify the essence of Wang Yangming’s philosophy. It also highlights the unique ideas of prominent monks, shedding light on the Buddhist thoughts of late Ming China. Focusing on Wang Yangming’s philosophy and Zen Buddhism, this is an essential guide to understanding early modern Chinese thought, which significantly influenced Japanese intellectual history.	2024
日本古代の儀礼と社会 *Nihon Kodai no Girei to Shakai* [Ancient Japanese Rituals and Society]	西本昌弘 (Masahiro Nishimoto)	八木書店 (Yagi Publishing)		This collection includes 18 original essays aimed at understanding ancient society. It covers topics such as royal rituals and ceremonies, the relationship between ancient Buddhism and the state/society, the regency system, as well as governance, classical texts, and artifacts. The essays reflect the latest research findings in these fields.	2024

法藏館文庫 仏教について *Hōzōkan Bunko Bukkyō ni Tsuite* [Hōzōkan Bunko: About Buddhism]	西谷啓治 (Keiji Nishitani)	法藏館 (Hozokan)		This work contains philosophical reflections on the contrasts between modern and pre-modern periods, Eastern and Western traditions, and the historical transformations of religion. It thoughtfully and clearly discusses the issues Buddhism faces in the contemporary world from a broad and deep perspective. The book is a record of a lecture delivered by Nishitani fifty years ago.	2024
高楠順次郎―世界に挑んだ仏教学者 *Takanusū Junjirō: Sekai ni Ittanda Bukkyō Gakusha* [Takanusū Junjirō: The Buddhist Scholar Who Challenged the World]	碧海寿広 (Toshihiro Ōmi)	吉川弘文館 (Yoshikawa Kobunkan)		A pioneer in Buddhist scripture research in South Asia and the founder of Musashino Women's Academy, this individual made significant contributions on the international stage. The book explores how he reevaluated and uniquely expressed Buddhism, shedding light on his role in compiling the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (The Taishō Tripitaka) and his efforts as an educator, portraying the life of this remarkable figure.	2024
近代日本の国家と浄土真宗―戦争・ナショナリズム・ジェンダー *Kindai Nihon no Kokka to Jōdo Shinshū: Sensō, Nashonarizumu, Jendā* [The Modern Japanese State and Jōdo Shinshū: War, Nationalism, and Gender]	福島 栄寿 (Fukushima Eiju)	法藏館 (Hozokan)		This work examines how Buddhism sought to position itself as the "religion" of the modern nation-state in Japan. It explores the formation of the "National Buddhism" discourse, encounters with the West, the establishment of the State Shinto system, and the promotion of social norms like the "good wife, wise mother" ideal. Focusing on issues related to Jōdo Shinshū (Ōtani-ha), it analyzes the discourse on faith and considers the complex relationship between Buddhism and the nation-state.	2023

近世思想と仏教 Kinsei Shisō to Bukkyō [Early Modern Thought and Buddhism]	末木文美士 (Fumihiko Sueki)	法蔵館 (Hozokan)		This text explores the characteristics, significance, and appeal of early modern Japanese Buddhism, moving beyond the traditional critiques that viewed it as "degenerate." It aims to offer new perspectives on the diverse and complex Buddhist thought of the early modern period.	2023
日本中世仏教形成史論 *Nihon Chūsei Bukkyō Keisei-shi Ron* [A Study on the Formation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism]	上川通夫 (Michio Kamikawa)	塙書房 (Hanawas-hobo)		This study examines the history of Japanese medieval Buddhism from the perspective and methods of historical research. The first part covers the 6th to 9th centuries, the second part focuses on the 10th to 12th centuries, and the third part primarily addresses the Shingon Buddhism world after the 10th century. Through ten papers organized into three parts, the work provides a comprehensive and structural understanding of the formation history of Japanese medieval Buddhism.	2023
日本中世仏教と東アジア世界 *Nihon Chūsei Bukkyō to Higashi Ajia Sekai* [Medieval Japanese Buddhism and the East Asian World]	上川通夫 (Michio Kamikawa)	塙書房 (Hanawas-hobo)		This study examines the establishment of Japanese medieval Buddhism within the context of changes in the East Asian political world. It identifies the creators of early medieval Japanese Buddhism as the leaders at the power center in Heian-kyo. Additionally, it explores how Buddhism was actively introduced into local communities across the Japanese archipelago in the 12th century. The work situates the formation history of Japanese medieval Buddhism within the interconnected historical regions of East Asia, Heian-kyo, and the regional societies of the archipelago.	2023

鎌倉仏教―密教の視点から *Kamakura Bukkyō: Mikkyō no Shiten kara* [Kamakura Buddhism: From the Perspective of Esoteric Buddhism]	智山勧学会 (Chisankan Gakukai)	大蔵出版 (Daizoshup-pan)		This work explores the new developments of medieval Esoteric Buddhism, fifty years after Toshiro Kuroda's theory of the esoteric and exoteric system. It delves into the meaning of the doctrines and rituals of Shingon Esoteric Buddhism during the Kamakura period. Scholars from the fields of history, Buddhist studies, and literature examine the core aspects of medieval Esoteric Buddhism.	2023

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